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A LATE NEOLITHIC CREVICE BURIAL FROM SELSIDE, RIBBLESDALE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By J. A. GILKS AND T. C. LORD

Circumstances of Discovery

The inhumation burial which forms the subject of this paper was found in 1936 by a workman stripping an area of limestone pavement on Over Pasture, which lies approximately 0.7 km west of South House Farm (Nat. Grid Ref. SD 787741) and 3.1 km north of Horton in Ribblesdale in the County of North Yorkshire.¹ The burial was reported to the police who immediately removed the remains to Settle police station.

The Burial

An unpublished account by Tot Lord and contemporary newspaper reports state that the burial was found in a grike,² a local name for a widened joint or crack in limestone pavement. The grike was 2.3m long, 0.46 m wide and 0.41 m deep; it was partly covered with limestone blocks, but their position was not recorded.³ The posture of the inhumation is not known, but the orientation was south-north.⁴ Sir Arthur Keith examined the remains and identified a fairly complete skeleton of a woman about thirty-five to forty years of age; he expressed an opinion that the skeleton was prehistoric.⁵ Subsequently an investigation of the site revealed a large polished stone axe (see below and Fig. 1) which was assumed to have accompanied the burial.⁶ There was no evidence to indicate more than one inhumation on the site. The human remains and axe are preserved in the Pigyard Museum, Settle. (T.C.L.)

The Axe

The axe (Fig. 1) is complete and has the following dimensions: length 290 mm; width at cutting edge 93 mm; width at waist 87 mm; width at butt 47 mm; thickness at waist 53 mm. The longitudinal edges have been ground flat and there is a broad, shallow, ground facet on the obverse (face illustrated), and a steep angular facet on the reverse surfaces of the butt. Apart from a chip on the left-hand side (that illustrated) of the cutting edge and areas of abrasion (both faces), which are of recent date, the axe is in perfect condition. The overall surface colour is a dull, dark, greyish-green with lighter grey-green mottling, but the core, as revealed by the chip is slate grey. The axe has not been thin-sectioned or examined macroscopically by a petrologist, but its distinctive shape and

1. Records presently housed in the Pigyard Museum, Settle.

2. Tot Lord MSS; *News Chronicle*, 10 September 1936; *Yorkshire Post*, 10 September 1936; *Craven Herald*, 11 September 1936.

3. *Craven Herald*, 11 September 1936.

4. Tot Lord MSS.

5. Sir Arthur Keith, letter to Tot Lord, 22 September 1936; he wrote: 'a very short woman, not more than 4' 10" (1.47 m), probably about 30-40 years of age and very feminine, that is to say, she had kept many of her girlish features into her maturity; her skull only 3-4 mm thick; forehead as in girlhood; no ridges over root of nose or orbits. She is medium long headed; height of skull 108 mm, length 178 mm, width 138 mm; cephalic index 77.5. Teeth small, all moderately worn and free from caries. Her right arm bone (humerus) had been broken in youth and mended with a deformity'.

6. *Craven Herald*, 29 January 1937; 'Ingleborough: A Special Survey Report by Staff of the Nature Conservancy', *Nature Conservancy Council*. (1965), p. 51.

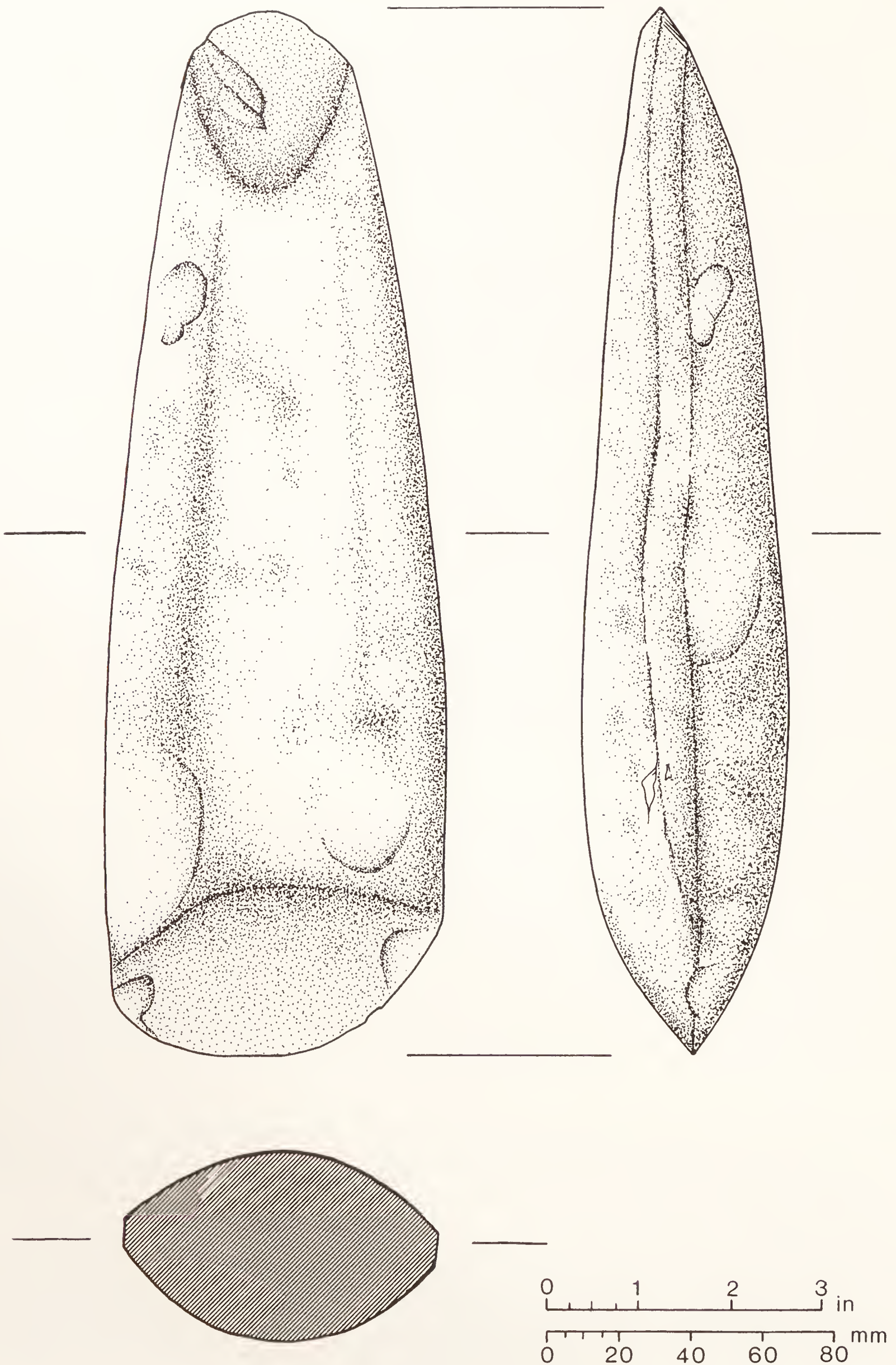


Fig. 1 Polished stone axe from Selside (1/2): drawn by J. A. Gilks.

surface/core colouring suggest *Group VI* (Great Langdale).⁷

Comment

There is no radiocarbon date for the Selside crevice burial and it is unlikely that one will be produced in the immediate future.⁸ However, the interment was accompanied by an item of grave furniture, a large polished stone axe, which can, on predominantly external evidence, be dated, though it must be stressed, not to within very narrow limits.

It has already been noted that the shape, and to some extent the surface/core colouring, identifies the axe as the product of one of the axe chipping sites on Great Langdale or Scafell Pikes in the Cumbrian Mountains of north-west England.⁹ Many of the axes made here are of thin profile and possess, as does the Selside axe, faceted sides and broad-butts and these are known as the *Cumbrian* type; they form along with other types of polished stone axe manufactured at the same sites, petrological *Group VI*. *Cumbrian* axes vary in length from 150 to 380 mm and not surprisingly have their greatest distribution in the north of England.¹⁰ Excluding surface finds, which account for over two-thirds of the implements available for study, *Group VI* axes have been found on Later Neolithic open occupation sites on the Yorkshire Wolds,¹¹ on the Carboniferous Limestone of the Peak District¹² and on the well drained sandstone terraces that form the eastern edge of the Pennines in West Yorkshire,¹³ they have also been found irrevocably mixed with human debris, and occasionally with much disturbed burials, in a number of caves in Derbyshire and Craven in North Yorkshire.¹⁴

The dating of *Group VI* axes rests first on the evidence obtained from lake sediments for periods of small-scale and temporary interference with the natural vegetation in the vicinity of Great Langdale and Langdale Pikes during the second quarter of the fourth millennium bc,¹⁵ and secondly on two radiocarbon dates, the first (2730 ± 135 bc (BM-

7. For a detailed discussion of this type of axe see Fell, C. I., 'The Cumbrian Type of Polished Stone Axe and its Distribution in Britain', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 30 (1964), pp. 39-55; Manby, T. G., 'The Distribution of Rough Out 'Cumbrian' and Related Stone Axes of Lake District Origin in Northern England', *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Antiq. & Archaeol. Soc.* ns 65 (1965), pp. 1-37; Manby, T. G., 'Typology, Materials and Distribution of Flint and Stone Axes in Yorkshire', in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W. A., eds., *Stone Axe Studies*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 23 (1979), pp. 65-81.
8. It is hoped that this and a number of closely related burials from both Craven and Peak District caves will be radiocarbon dated over the next four to six years.
9. Manby 1965, *op. cit.* in note 7, pp. 1-37.
10. Manby 1979, *op. cit.* in note 7, pp. 65, 72-73, fig. 6.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80; Keen, L., and Radley, J., 'Report on the Petrological Identification of Stone Axes from Yorkshire', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 37 (1971), pp. 16-37; Manby, T. G., 'Neolithic Occupation Sites on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 47 (1975), pp. 23-59.
12. Moore, C. N., and Cummins, W. A., 'Petrological Identification of Stone Implements from Derbyshire and Leicestershire', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 40 (1974), pp. 59-78; Hart, C. R., *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*. The North Derbyshire Archaeological Trust, pp. 35-36 (Chesterfield 1981); Vine, P., *The Neolithic and Bronze Age Cultures of the Middle and Upper Trent Basin*. Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser., 105, pp. 6-7 and 17. (Oxford 1982).
13. Gilks, J. A., *A Neolithic Occupation Site at Castle Hill, Denby, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire*. West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Archaeol. Res. Comm. Occasional Paper, no. 1 (1974), pp. 5-8. fig. 1; Keighley, J. J., 'The Neolithic Period', in Moorhouse, S. A., and Faull, M. L., eds., *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*. vol. 1, pp. 90-92 and vol. 4, map 5. (West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council 1981).
14. Derbyshire: Fox Hole Cave, Bramwell, D., 'Excavations at Fox Hole Cave, High Wheeldon, 1961-1970', *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 91 (1971), p. 10, fig. 3, 3; Lancashire: Dog Hole Cave, Bolton Museum, Acc. no.: LS 1967; North Yorkshire: Attermire Cave, Attermire Cave 2 and Kinsey Cave, Pigyard Museum, Settle, Acc. nos.: respectively 1068, 1043 and 1057.
15. Pennington, W., 'Vegetation History in the North-West of England: a Regional Synthesis', in Walker, D., and West, R. G., eds., *Studies in the Vegetational History of the British Isles*. pp. 41-79. (Cambridge University Press 1970); Pennington, W., 'The Effect of Neolithic Man on the Environment in North-West England: the use of Absolute Pollen Diagrams', in Evans, J. G., Limbrey, S., and Cleere, H., eds., *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Highland Zone*. Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 11 (1975), pp. 74-86.

281)) from an axe chipping floor at Pike of Stickle,¹⁶ the other (2524 ± 52 bc (BM-676)) from a comparable site, one kilometre to the north, at Thunacar Knott.¹⁷ The opening up of the forest cover by Earlier Neolithic communities is no doubt synchronous with the discovery and exploitation for predominantly local needs of Langdale rock,¹⁸ whilst the radiocarbon dates obtained from the chipping floors probably relate to the period of greatest activity at Langdale Pikes. This conclusion is supported by evidence, again from local lake sediments, which attests to extensive forest clearance having taken place in the neighbourhood of the chipping sites around the middle of the third millennium bc.¹⁹

In the north of England the latest certain associations for *Group VI* axes appear to be with three coexisting types of pottery, namely Grooved Ware,²⁰ All-Over-Cord and early style comb decorated Beakers;²¹ together they span the end of the Later Neolithic and the beginning of the Earlier Bronze Age, *c.* 2100 to 1700 bc.

In summarizing the evidence for dating *Group VI* axes it can be said that they were widely used, at least in northern England, from the middle of the third to the end of the first quarter of the second millennium bc. If we accept that the *Cumbrian* axe which accompanied the Selside crevice burial dates from this period, at what point was it, and therefore the burial, deposited? In the absence of other, more closely dateable, objects from the grave, the date of deposition can now only be established through a detailed study of local Neolithic artefacts, coupled with a careful assessment of the limited amount of environmental evidence. Such a study is currently being undertaken by the writer and preliminary results, obtained through an examination of much of the surface recovered material, predominantly leaf-shaped arrowheads and polished stone axes—many of *Group VI*—and of all the finds, mostly ceramic and lithic, obtained from a number of caves and rock shelters around Settle, support the view that there was widespread occupation of the Craven Uplands during the Later Neolithic.²² It is also clear from pollen analysis of samples from Malham Tarn and Tarn Moss that deforestation was taking place near the occupied caves during the Sub Boreal (pollen zone VIIb).²³ Clearly the bulk of the evidence focuses on the Later Neolithic and in view of this it seems reasonable to conclude that we are dealing with a burial of the late third millennium bc. Closer dating, as previously noted, depends on radiocarbon analysis of the bones.

The Selside burial is of considerable interest, as it is the only interment of Later Neolithic date to have been found in a grike of the limestone. Other burials of comparable age, almost all disarticulated and the majority very incomplete, are, however, known from fifteen caves and rock shelters, the most notable being Elbolton,²⁴

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16. Bunch, B., and Fell, C., 'A Stone Axe Factory at Pike of Stickle, Great Langdale, Westmorland', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 15 (1949), pp. 1-20; Barker, H., Burleigh, R., and Meeks, N., 'British Museum Natural Radiocarbon Measurements VI' *Radiocarbon*. 11 (1969), p. 288.
 17. Clough, T. H. McK., 'Excavations on a Langdale Chipping Site in 1969 and 1970', *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Antiq. & Archaeol. Soc.* ns 73 (1973), pp. 25-46; Smith, I. F., 'The Chronology of British Stone Implements', in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W. A., eds., *Stone Axe Studies*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 23 (1979), p. 18.
 18. Smith, *Ibid.*, pp. 13-22.
 19. Pennington 1970, *op cit.* in note 15, pp. 67-78; same note Pennington 1975, pp. 74-86.
 20. Manby, T. G., *Grooved Ware Sites in Yorkshire and the North of England*. Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser., 9. (Oxford 1974).
 21. Manby 1979, *op cit.* in note 7, Appendix A, pp. 79-80.
 22. Gilks, J. A., *The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Cave Burials of the North of England*. (In preparation).
 23. Pigott, M. E., and C. D., 'Stratigraphy and Pollen Analysis of Malham Tarn and Tarn Moss', *Field Stud.* 1 (1959), pp. 84-101; Fleming, A., 'Early Settlement and Landscape in West Yorkshire', in Sieveking, G. de G., Longworth, I. H., and Wilson, K. E., eds., *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*. pp. 359-73. (London 1976).
 24. Gilks, J. A., 'The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery from Elbolton Cave, Wharfedale', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 45 (1973), pp. 41-54.

Foxholes²⁵ and Jubilee,²⁶ Lesser Kelcoe,²⁷ Raven Scar²⁸ and Sewell's;²⁹ both crouched and contracted burials, some in small unroofed cists of slab-and-boulder construction, occurred at Elbolton³⁰ and Raven Scar.³¹ The cists are not unlike those found in some northern megalithic tombs, of which there are two badly mutilated examples in Craven, namely Giant's Grave, Pen-y-ghent, a multi-chambered structure,³² and the Bordley Circle (also known as the Druid's Altar) on Malham Moor,³³ which at present is best viewed as a passage grave.³⁴ Very little is known about the contents of these two tombs, but at least one adult and a child are represented by fragments of bone from Giant's Grave.³⁵

Conclusion

During the later Neolithic the caves and rock shelters of Craven were clearly preferred to formal tombs, not only for the disposal of the dead, but for occupation, and the great majority of excavated sites have produced evidence for both forms of usage. Though some fifteen sites have yielded burials, and there is little doubt that the two formal tombs contained them, only one burial has so far been found in a grike of the limestone. There are probably more burials but the chances of finding them is very remote. To search the grikes, and there are thousands that would have been suitable as graves, would be a phenomenal, if not impossible, undertaking. Thus the burial from Selside is likely to remain regionally unique for some considerable time (J.A.G.)

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25. Broderick, H., 'Fox Holes, Clapdale—A Rock Shelter', *Yorks. Ramblers Club J.* 5 (1924), pp. 112-16.
 26. T. Lord, *pers. comm.*
 27. Simpson, E., 'The Kelcow Caves, Giggleswick, Yorkshire', *Cave Science*. 2 (1953), pp. 58-62.
 28. Gilks, J. A., 'Excavations in a Cave on Raven Scar, Ingleton, 1973-5', *Brit. Cave Res. Ass. Trans.* 3, no. 2 (1976), pp. 95-99.
 29. Raistrick, A., 'Excavations at Sewell's Cave, Settle, W. Yorkshire', *Proc. Univ. Durham Phil. Soc.* 9, pt. 4 (1936), 191-204.
 30. Gilks, *op cit.* in note 24, p. 42.
 31. Gilks, *op. cit.* in note 28, p. 96; Turnbull, P., (Ed.) 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1981', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 54 (1982), p. 171, fig. 1.
 32. Bennett, W., 'Giants' Graves, Penygent', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 33 (1937), pp. 318-19.
 33. Feather, S. W., and Manby, T. G., 'Prehistoric Chambered Tombs of the Pennines', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 42 (1970), pp. 396-97; Raistrick, A., 'The Bronze Age in West Yorkshire', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.* 29 (1929), p. 356; Raistrick, A., *Prehistoric Yorkshire*, (1964), p. 22; Speight, H., *The Craven and North-West Highlands*, (1892), p. 323.
 34. Kinnes, I. A., *Neolithic Burial Practices in England and Wales*. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. Cambridge, 1972).
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 1062; Bennett, *op. cit.*, in note 32, p. 318.

A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE DIRK FROM WILFHOLME, NORTH HUMBERSIDE

By BRIDGET A. V. TRUMP

A bronze dirk 26.5 centimetres long was found about ten years ago in dyke clearings from the Watton Beck near Wilfholme Landing (Grid reference TA 061474). This is a low-lying area beside the River Hull, about five miles north of Beverley. The finders gave the dirk a drastic cleaning, with the result that the surface is now brass-like in colour and abraded all over, and used it around the farm for cutting twine. It was given to its present owner in 1981.

Description

The butt is 5.8 cm. across at the shoulders, from which point the blade tapers in gracefully (Fig. 1.). The edges are very sharp, and, in spite of having a central arris starting on the butt and running the whole length of the blade, this is thin and relatively flat in cross section. The moulding down the edges of the blade would originally have been clearer. There are two rivet holes in the butt, both of them broken, and the rivets are missing. In my opinion the rivet holes would have been fully enclosed. They are, however, unusually small for this class of weapon, being 3mm. across, as opposed to 6mm. average.

The sides of the butt splay out from the top to the shoulders to an intermediate extent. Earlier Middle Bronze Age rapiers and dirks have butt sides sloping out markedly, while on later ones the sides are nearer vertical.¹ The butt is not symmetrical; the left side is sinuous, while the right is straighter and slightly convex. I consider this an original feature, not the result of subsequent damage. Very few rapiers are strictly symmetrical. The top of the butt has a slight dip in the centre which is also original.

Discussion

Very few rapiers have been found in this part of England. My list (which does not claim to be exhaustive) has only three from Yorkshire, none of which bears the least resemblance to Wilfholme. For parallels, therefore, I am obliged to look further afield. There is a very fine rapier from the River Tyne at Newcastle in the British Museum (see Fig. 4). The two small notches in the butt could only have held very slender rivets. Colin Burgess² thinks that Newcastle's notches are the result of later re-working, but I do not agree. Despite the difference in size the general outline of Newcastle and Wilfholme are similar, even to the dip in the top of the butt, and the cross sections of the blades are also alike. There is a rapier somewhat like Newcastle from the River Cree, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, and a slimmer one with the same small rivet notches from the Shannon near Cornacarrow Co. Leitrim in Ireland. It was my opinion that rapiers from Scotland and northern England were made by Irish metal workers³ and the same could apply to Wilfholme.

Two other, admittedly smaller, weapons which have small rivet holes are shown in Figs. 2-3. One is from Waterbeach in Cambridgeshire, the other from Keelogue Ford on

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1. B. Trump, 'The Origin and Development of British Middle Bronze Age Rapiers', *P.P.S.* XXVIII 1962, pp. 80-102.
 2. C. Burgess and S. Gerloff, *The Dirks and Rapiers of Great Britain and Ireland* (Munich 1981), p. 47.
 3. B. Trump, 'Scottish Middle Bronze Age Rapiers', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XCIII 1961 pp. 1-15.

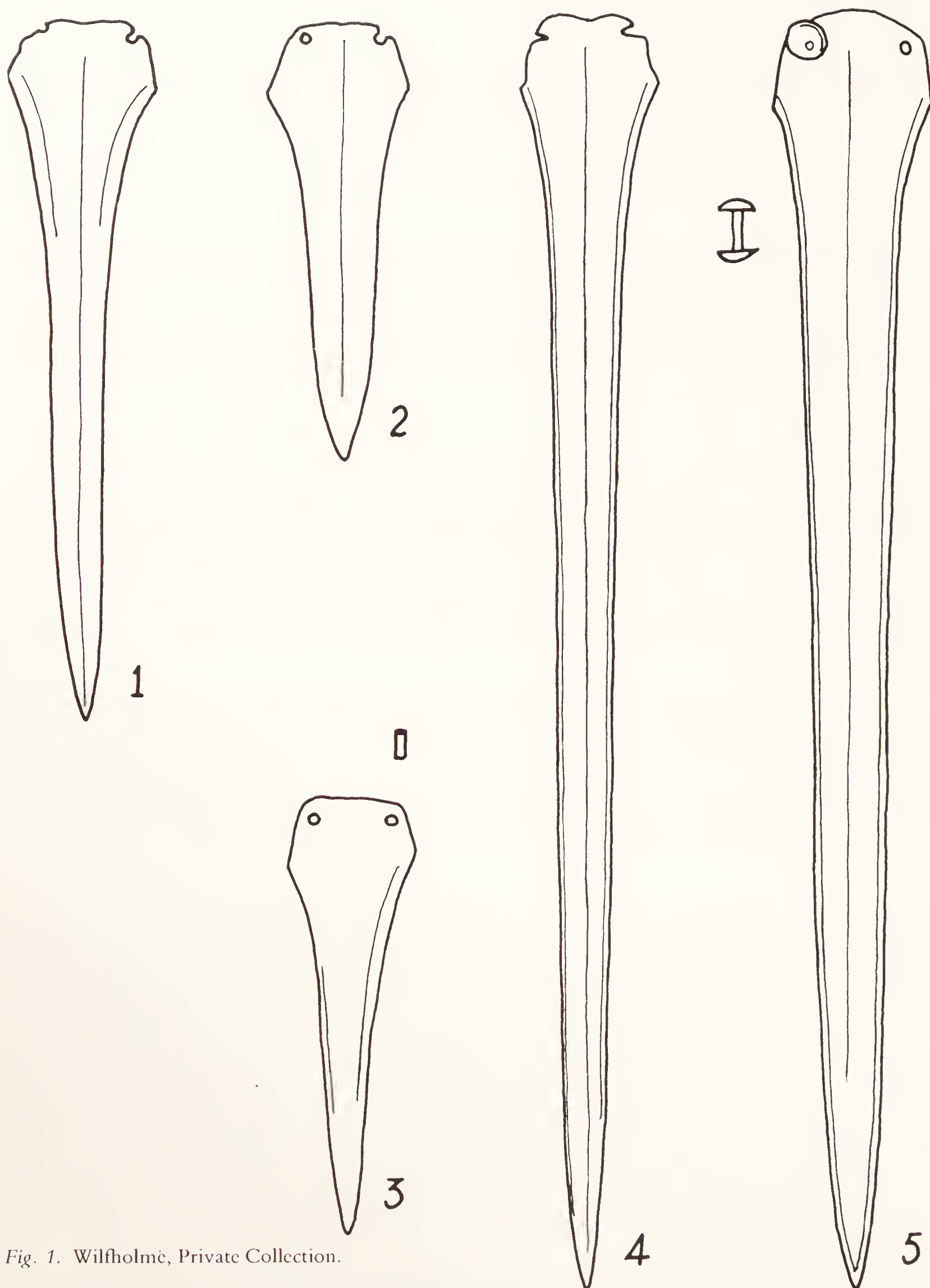


Fig. 1. Wilfholmé, Private Collection.

Fig. 2. Waterbeach, British Museum.

Fig. 3. Keelogue Ford, National Museum of Ireland.

Fig. 4. River Tyne at Newcastle, British Museum.

Fig. 5. Bracknamuckley, Belfast Museum.

the Shannon. Waterbeach has an arris, like Wilfholme; Keelogue Ford has not. The Irish dagger retains one rivet showing the slim, peg shape, lacking the hammered over ends of earlier, fatter ones. It is this thin type which fits the smaller holes.

Conclusion

Wilfholme belongs in my Group II, Wandsworth-Chatteris class, or possibly in the earlier Group I in which classes are not differentiated.⁴ Rowlands would put it with his 'Developed trapezoidal hilted rapiers' having 'stepped lozenge blade cross-section'; ie. Class 2 Group 2.⁵ According to Burgess⁶ it is a Group II Type Littleport if you look at the left side of the butt as drawn, which is concave, or a 'dirk with angular butt' if you look at the right-hand, straight side. So the experts agree on placing it early-ish in the rapier sequence, round about 1200 BC.

The smallness of the rivet holes is unusual and interesting. There is a tendency for rivets to get smaller and simpler in later rapiers (Fig. 3 is a late type), but there is no reason to suppose that all small rivets are late. After all, Early Bronze Age rivets are small. The only other explanation for small holes is that they once contained capped rivets. These are common in the Bronze Age of northern Europe but have been found in the British Isles on only one rapier and two halberds, all three from Ireland. The Bracknamuckley, Co. Antrim, rapier is 50 cm. long but has holes much the same size as Wilfholme. One rivet remains, 2.5 cm. long, with a separately cast head 1.5 cm. across on each end (fig. 5). A band of hatched pendant triangles, now very faint, has recently been noticed across the top of the blade. This style of decoration is another North European trait and confirms that Bracknamuckley was a special weapon.

The survival rate for all rivets on British rapiers is very poor; only about 30 per cent of finds belonging to the earlier phase, and from the later phase there are considerably fewer. Capped rivets are even less likely to survive than peg ones, since they are more fragile, and once one cap broke off, the rest of the rivet would fall out. If it is accepted that within the British Isles capped rivets were only made in Ireland, and only used on a very small percentage of rapiers there, then it is just possible that among those traded to England a few had capped rivets, and Wilfholme could be among them, but on the whole small peg rivets are more likely.

At a length of 26.5 cm. (10½ inches) and with a blade well adapted for cutting as well as thrusting, the Wilfholme dirk would have been effective in hand-to-hand combat. It would be fascinating to know if it ever drew human blood in anger, or whether it was merely for show, or for killing animals; but alas there is no way of telling. The fact that it was found in the bed of a stream puts it in line with the majority of British rapier finds, which come from rivers or fens. There seems to have been a religious practice in the Middle Bronze Age to honour water spirits by throwing them these highly prized weapons as offerings.

4. B. Trump, Fenland Rapiers, *Studies in Ancient Europe* (Leicester 1968), p. 214.

5. M. J. Rowlands, *The Organisation of Middle Bronze Age Metalworking*, (Oxford 1976 - British Archaeological Reports 31), p. 74.

6. C. Burgess and S. Gerloff, *The Dirks and Rapiers of Great Britain and Ireland* (Munich 1981), p. 29.

LATE ROMAN INLAND SIGNAL STATION, OR TEMPLE?

Functional Interpretation at Walkington Wold

By G. B. BAILEY

Between 1967 and 1969 excavation was undertaken upon two heavily ploughed barrow mounds on Walkington Wold (SE 962357) by the East Riding Archaeological Society under the supervision of Messrs Bartlett and Mackey. The investigation revealed evidence of some form of 'occupation' in the fourth century A.D. which, at the time of publication, the authors believed indicated that the site might best be interpreted as an inland signal station.¹ The evidence is however also compatible with the functional designation of the site as a religious locus.

The topographically elevated nature of the site whilst favouring signalling is comparable with a large number of rural shrines in Roman Britain.² Although the existence of the barrow mound in the Roman period might have provided a conveniently raised location for a viewing platform, it could alternatively mean that the place was still recognisably a religious locus with continuing sanctity. This appears to have occurred at Slonk Hill³ where a shrine was erected over the eastern of two Bronze Age barrows and is a practice which Dr. Anne Ross believes to have been quite widespread: 'the burial mound was yet another focal point for cult practice, not necessarily a substitute for a shrine, but possibly a place beside which some structure would be erected.'⁴ Of course, a site with panoramic views is of no use as a communications centre unless it has somewhere to communicate with. The known coastal signal stations are much further north and must have communicated with either Malton and York inland, or to a port in the vicinity of Bridlington utilizing the suitable anchorage provided by the Roman coastal configuration in that area. Either arrangement would negate any necessity of extending the system southwards. Nevertheless, some form of naval activity must be suspected in the Humber to protect this major point of seaborne access. Brough is too far west to be suitable for such a task and the usefulness of a site at Walkington must therefore be called into question in this respect.

The mound of the barrow had been levelled in antiquity and, partly as a consequence, no structural elements of Roman date were recognized. Although the foundations required for a signal tower of wood would need to be greater in magnitude than those for a more flimsy wooden temple structure and hence possess a correspondingly greater probability of survival, it would be vain to argue from such negative evidence. The complete absence of any form of protective enclosure, such as a defensive ditch or bank, is not however in accord with other signal station sites and is a major deficiency in any such comparison.

Over 700 coins were recovered from the excavated area, presenting an abnormally

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1. J. E. Bartlett and R. W. Mackey, 'Walkington Wold excavations—Bronze Age to late Roman', *East Riding Archaeologist* 1 (ii) (1973). Subsequently referred to as Bartlett and Mackey, 1973.
 2. See M. J. T. Lewis, *Temples in Roman Britain* (1965), pp. 130-131.
 3. R. Hartridge, 'Excavations at the prehistoric and Romano-British site on Slonk Hill, Shoreham, Sussex', *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* 116 (1978), pp. 69-141; W. Rodwell, 'Temple archaeology: problems of the present and portents for the future', *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* (ed. W. Rodwell, 1980), British Archaeological Reports 77.
 4. A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (1967), p. 66.

high number for a military site of signal station type⁵ and much more in keeping with temple sites in general. The coins do not appear to have originated in a subsequently disturbed hoard,⁶ and their profusion may be attributed to the Celtic practice of donating such tokens as religious offerings. Such a usage may help to explain the chronological discrepancy between them and the pottery from the site.

Other types of bronze artefacts commonly occur on temple sites as votive offerings. An inspection of the objects from the Walkington Wold site reveals that none of them are specifically military in character or 'Germanic' in style⁷ and cannot therefore support the tenuous concept of an irregular barbarian unit. The condition of the objects at discovery is of some importance here. The state of some of the small finds suggests that they were deliberately damaged or misshapen prior to their deposition. A bronze pennannular ring was, for example crushed out of shape in antiquity⁸; and out of the four nearly complete bronze mounts found on the site, one had been folded twice and another had been rolled up. There are two possible reasons to account for this pre-depositional treatment. Either they were part of a bronze worker's hoard awaiting smelting, or they had been ritually rendered useless. Without any supporting evidence for bronze working on the site, the latter seems more probable and parallels are readily available.⁹

Two of the mounts had facial representations of slightly differing style, whilst the remaining two sported a pair of bosses possibly representing eyes. The facial representations are artistically reminiscent of the face portrayed on the tin mask from the baths which form part of the temple complex of *Sulis Minerva* at Bath. From a temple in Great Chesterford a recently unearthed silver plaque bears the portrait of a head and helps to confirm the association of such portrayals with religious sites.¹⁰ More significantly, this silver votive mask had been folded into four before deposition, and a similar treatment had been bestowed upon several of the bronze 'feathers' from the same site. Another parallel may be drawn between one of the plainer mounts from Walkington Wold (no. 141) and a similar find from Kirmington,¹¹ a site which again has religious connotations.¹² These mounts were designed for application to a bucket or similar vessel, but could easily have found a secondary use comparable to that of the votive leaves or repoussé plaques with attachment holes found on temple sites. A wooden bucket with iron hoops and a bronze escutcheon in the form of a human bust was found in the well-known priest's burial at the neighbouring Roman town of Brough-on-Humber¹³ and may reflect the primary ceremonial function of such vessels.

That the occupation of the Walkington Wold site came to a violent termination was suggested by the discovery of ten decapitated skeletons, recalling (to the excavators) similar evidence (?) for the violent destruction of the signal stations of the Yorkshire coast. Even with the contemporaneity of the occupation with these recognised military establishments any link to them is tenuous and circumstantial, and it would be equally

5. For a summary of the coins from the Yorkshire coastal signal stations see M. K. Clark, *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* (1935).

6. Bartlett and Mackey, 1973, pp. 13-14.

7. For a discussion see T. M. Dickinson, 'British antiquity 1976-7. Post Roman and Anglo-Saxon', *Arch. J.* 134 (1978), pp. 404-418; and J. P. Gillam 'Romano-Saxon pottery: an alternative interpretation', *The End of Roman Britain* (ed. P. J. Casey, 1979), British Archaeological Reports 71.

8. Bartlett and Mackey, 1973, p. 44. Small-find number 128.

9. For example at Uley, A. Ellison, 'Natives, Romans and Christians on West Hill, Uley: an interim report on the excavation of a ritual complex of the first millennium A.D.', *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* (ed. W. Rodwell, 1980), British Archaeological Reports 77; or Hayling Island, R. Downey, A. King and G. Soffe, 'The Hayling Island temple and religious connections across the channel', *ibid.*

10. R. Goodburn, 'Roman Britain in 1978', *Britannia* 10 (1979), pp. 309-310.

11. Unpublished, in Hull museum.

12. K. Leahy, 'Votive models from Kirmington, South Humberside', *Britannia* 11 (1980), pp. 326-330.

13. P. Corder and I. A. Richmond, 'A Romano-British interment with bucket and sceptres from Brough, East Yorkshire', *Ant. J.* 18 (1938), pp. 68-74.

possible to utilise the late date to place the blame for 'the deliberate slighting of the site in early post-Roman times'¹⁴ upon zealous Christians.¹⁵ The burial of decapitated bodies is not particularly rare in Roman Britain and may be found in both urban¹⁶ and rural¹⁷ contexts. Often the head was placed between or below the legs, though the reasons for this act are still unknown. At Cirencester the heads were still in position and it was thought that they may still have been attached to the trunk by the anterior tissues of the neck. This possibility, combined with the usual deposition of the head within the grave demonstrates that the heads were not usually removed as trophies. The act may have been penal, with no subsequent display of the administered justice. However, such bodies were not buried in separate cemeteries, nor were they confined to particular areas within cemeteries and severing of the head from the body after death has been known as part of a general head cult in some societies.¹⁸

We may thus have a context for the Walkington Wold burials. The apparent absence of grave pits need not worry us as these were evidently very difficult to detect, but were almost certainly present. Burial 12, for example, revealed no sign of a grave cut and yet the skeleton lay directly upon the bare surface of the natural chalk. More importantly, a grave is indicated for the mass burial of 7, 8 and 9 by the nature of the disturbance of a pre-existing grave containing skeleton 6. Nor would the burials have remained articulated had they not been covered over soon after the individuals' deaths. Two of the burials (4 and 5) were of the more formal type with attached heads and these help to define the area as a cemetery and not as a hurried dumping ground for the dead bodies. Certainly, the cemetery had a long enough life to allow the decay of burial 6 (and presumably of any surface traces of the grave's location to erode) before the communal grave was planned.

Skeleton 6 also demonstrates the established tradition of decapitation on this site and would seem to rule out a massacre or mass execution which would surely be manifest as a single episode. However, there is one major difference at Walkington Wold to the other examples given above, and that is the interment of the body without the skull. Only in one case is the body in association with the skull (no. 13), with the head placed about half a metre below the legs. Perhaps significantly this appears to be the only female. Whilst the bodies were located at or beyond the periphery of the mound, the known skulls were found over the area of the demolished mound itself. This may be an accident of survival, although it is to be noted that no skulls were found away from the mound (except with skeleton 13) where they would be expected to survive. Were these severed heads displayed as a warning to other potential victims or were they an object of reverence within a shrine or temple? The head cult was one of the strongest of all Celtic traditions and manifested itself in numerous ways as attested by Dr. Anne Ross 'Inevitably burial ritual is concerned with and manifests otherworld beliefs. In the same way, shrines in which sacrifices were carried out (human and animal), and in which such trophies and cult symbols as human crania were displayed, must have their own associations with death and dying.'¹⁹ There are hints of a head cult in the late Iron Age in this part of Yorkshire²⁰ and like the practice of flexed burial, demonstrated at Walkington by burial 14, it too may have been a Celtic survival in the Roman period. Indeed we do have at least one other site, excavated by Pitt Rivers at Warbarrow on Cranborne Chase, where

14. Bartlett and Mackey, 1973, p. 13.

15. On the late 'history' of temples in Roman Britain see R. Reece, 'Religion, coins and temples', *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* (ed. W. Rodwell, 1980), British Archaeological Reports 77.

16. For example Winchester, G. Clarke, *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (1979); or Cirencester, A. McWhirr, L. Viner and C. Wells, *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester* (1982).

17. For example Stanton Harcourt, R. Goodburn, 'Roman Britain in 1978', *Britannia* 10 (1979), p. 303.

18. A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (1967).

19. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

20. I. M. Stead, 'Yorkshire before the Romans; some recent discoveries', *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (ed. R. M. Butler, 1971), p. 34.

secondary decapitated interments of the Roman period were superficially buried in an existing barrow structure. There is therefore no particular reason to assign any dramatic interpretation to the evidence from Walkington Wold and a purely civil function for the site is plausible. It is suggested that this may have taken the form of a small shrine erected at a locus of continuing religious sanctity.

THE VENERABLE BEDE AND A LOST SAXON MONASTERY IN YORKSHIRE

By W. RICHARDSON

“Darkness at noon”. With uneasy foreboding the Venerable Bede, ill, in the year before his death in 735 A.D., wrote on the state of the church and Kingdom of Northumbria to Egbert, Bishop of York, who after his consecration in 734 had, unknown to Bede, received the pall as Archbishop later in the same year. Bede had stayed at York with him the year previous. Northumbria had just enjoyed its golden age under Kings Edwin, Oswald and specially Oswiu whose sway had extended from the lowlands of Scotland to Lindsey and Mercia. They had been generous and pious patrons of the church, establishing such monasteries as Whitby, where their families provided abbots and abbesses, and some like Ceolwulf became monks. That glory was fast fading. Mercia and Lindsey had become independent. Scotland was in turbulent rebellion. Bernicia and Deira were in uneasy union.

Reports had come to Bede that there were “many ‘villae ac viculi’¹ of our nation situated on inaccessible mountains and in thick forests where, for many years, no bishop comes to perform any of the duties of holy ministry or divine grace, yet none of these is free from paying tribute to the bishop”, and there is not even a teacher. So “some bishops . . . receive money from their hearers . . . and neglect the ministry of the word”. Bede urges Egbert to advise King Ceolwulf (729-39), a pious king with “his own zeal for religion”, to complete “the ecclesiastical establishment of the nation” by consecrating more bishops to the number of twelve as Pope Gregory had bidden Augustine, so that Egbert could then receive the promised pallium as metropolitan.

But since “the negligence and foolish donations” of preceding kings had made it difficult to find a vacant place to create a new see, existing monasteries should be licensed to choose suitable men to be ordained bishop in their areas and additional finance found from “many such large establishments which . . . are of use neither to God or man, because they neither observe regular monastic life, nor yet supply soldiers or attendance of the secular authorities to defend our shores from barbarians”, by “erecting an episcopal see in such places”. Such so-called monasteries have been endowed with so many large estates that young sons of noblemen and army veterans can find no land and, being unemployed, go oversea or turn to vice. To remedy this the king must be urged to cancel such settlements of past donors “lest, in these our times, either religion cease altogether . . . or the number of our secular soldiers become lessened, and our borders be no longer defended from the inroads of the barbarians”. Rich laymen and their wives, even of the highest rank, “almost every prefect since King Aldfrid” have used the pretence of founding monasteries and convents to evade taxation and their responsibilities to the state, often encouraged and confirmed by bishops for their own profit. Egbert and Ceolwulf should confiscate and close such monasteries to finance these new sees where they were urgently needed for the good of church and nation.

It was against this general background that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records under the year 763—“Then Pehtwin was consecrated bishop of Whithorn at Aelfet.ee”.² Aelfet.ee was identified in 1823 by Dr. James Ingram, professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford and president of Trinity College, as Adlingfleet, in his scholarly edition of the

1. Country houses or farms and villages or hamlets.

2. v.l. ‘Aelfaet’ vel ‘Adelfaet’ in one MS.

Chronicle, and this identification appeared in all the subsequent editions³ until E. E. C. Gomme 1909 and D. Whitelock 1961. Ingram was said to be the most competent Anglo-Saxon scholar of his day, continuing the work of Bishop Edmund Gibson of The Queen's College in the seventeenth century. Adlingfleet is a small and very little known village in the corner of Yorkshire between the Ouse and the Trent, where the old river Don, the very ancient boundary between the counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, emptied into the Trent in a district called Marshland, before Vermuyden diverted it in the seventeenth century.

In ancient times this was a remote area subject to continual tidal flooding, surrounded by lakes, marshes and moorland wastes, throughout the Middle Ages the subject of frequent Drainage Commissions. Domesday registers it thus:— “In Adelingesfluet Siwardbar had six carucates of land to be taxed: there is land to three ploughs. Geofryde de la Wirce has now one plough and 13 villeins and one bordar, with three ploughs. There is a church and a priest and one mill of 10 shillings; coppice wood one mile long and one quarenteen broad: the whole manor two miles long and one broad: the whole manor two miles long and one broad. Value T.R.E. four pound: now thirty shillings.” It adds that “a marsh, ten miles long and three broad, belongs to this island”. Camden⁴ describes Marshland as surrounded by the rivers Don, Idle and Humber, “a little marshy region or rather river island (*amnica insula*) which includes in its circuit 15 miles more or less, most pleasant (*beatissima*) with luxuriant verdure, very suitable for feeding cattle, and on every side crowned as it were with small townships. This island, however, some of its inhabitants think is floating (*suspended—pendere*) and is raised up as the rivers rise”. Adlingfleet was the most easterly of these townships, near Trent Fall and the mouth of the Don, and might well have been one of the in-accessible *villae* and *viculi* which Bede said needed the ministrations of a bishop.

But was Ingram justified in identifying Aelfetee with Adlingfleet (*Adelingesfluet*)? The form ‘Adelfet.ee’ is also found in the MSS and ‘Adel’ is the usual form of ‘Atheling’ while ‘Adel’ is a common contraction.⁵ The absence of the ‘L’ of ‘FLEOT’ in ‘FET’ might seem more difficult, but such contractions and omissions are frequently found in Anglo-Saxon and into the Middle Ages, as we can see for instance on coins. The Chronicle of Ethelweard dated to the tenth century and incorporating, it is said, an elderly version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which was nearer to the original than ours and had a special Northumbrian source, shows many such remarkable contractions—Athulfi for Ethelwulfi (538 A.D.), Aethestani for Aethelstani (926 A.D.), Adestanus and Aedefstanus for Aethelstanus. Similar variations, on Ethelred for instance, are found in the ‘Life of Aelred’ (1109-1166 A.D.). The neighbouring village of Garthorpe was ‘Gerulftorp’ in Domesday and has lost ‘LF’.

A parallel with Athelney is interesting. Aethelweard calls this ‘*insula Athelingaige quae videtur sita in palude*’; Simeon of Durham ‘*Aethelingheie*’ and Aelred ‘*Edelingheie*’. Compare Aetheling (fleot)ee, Adelinges (fluet)-Ael (fet)-ee-‘The Princes’ Island’ at Athelney, ‘The Prince’s Stream Island’ at Adlingfleet; ‘ee’ was an additional element at Adlingfleet (Aelfet.ee) owing to the situation of Adlingfleet as virtually a true island on the river Don, the Stream, between the rivers and the huge marsh and moorland waste, as Camden noted.

Later editors, E. E. C. Gomme in his translation⁶, “perhaps Elvet, Durham?”,⁷ Dorothy Whitelock in her translation⁸ and also in *Eng. Hist. Doc.*i.164 “At Elvet, part of

3. Rolls, Bohn, Everyman.

4. ‘*Britannia*’, late sixteenth century.

5. cf. Aelred, Adelred, Adilred for Aethelred.

6. Bell, p.44.

7. 1909.

8. p.32, 1961.

Durham” and the *Victoria County History* of Durham claim to have found a closer parallel in ‘Elvet’, an ancient suburb of Durham, but there is no reason to accept this except for the apparent similarity of the names. The Saxon remains at Elvet are not of certain interpretation and are in any case too slight to support the claim. Ingram and Petrie knew Elvet and were greatly interested in Wearmouth, yet they did not link Aelfetee and Elvet. The earliest documentary evidence is of the twelfth century, cited in forged documents where it is spelt ‘Eluet’ or ‘Aeluet’ with variations. These are found in Durham Episcopal Charters.⁹ All date from the twelfth century and even their forged dates are late eleventh century. They have a common characteristic. There is a chronological series of documents [3] 1107 A.D., [3a] c.1160, [4] c.1170, [7] c.1158-1195, all supporting and seeking to base the monastery’s claims to possessions, privileges and status on the earliest possible dates, whether it be as a plea to a pope or against a bishop, for the monastery’s aggrandisement. In the course of it we progress from ‘Aeluet’ with no variations, to ‘Aelurette’ with the variants Aeluet, Eluete, Eluet and Eluett, with the addition in one MS only of ‘ecclesiam de Eluete’,¹⁰ and to a document with ‘ecclesiam in Elurette’ with variants but also ‘Aeluet’ without variants in its list of villas. Only in this,¹¹ is there a reference to a church and in the latest¹² a reference to a church with the spelling ‘Elfeite’¹³ with variants ‘Eluet’ and ‘Eluett’. (For more detailed evidence see W. Richardson *Adlingfleet and Whitgift—Some Useful Consumers of Waste*, 1981.)

There is one other piece of evidence in a document discussed by R. J. Brentano in the *Scottish Historical Review* 32 (1953)—‘Document Whithorn and York’. It is an addition, “in the same hand”, to a MS of a twelfth or early thirteenth century edition of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*. It is mainly dependent on Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon and is closely related to the MSS D and E of the *Chronicle*. It adds topographical details about Elvet while linking it with Chester-le-Street and Whithorn. With regard to Elvet it reads “Hic autem fridepald XXIX annos vixit, eo vero defuncto consecratus est pehtpine in villa quae dicitur eleuete inter fluvium tese et tyne XVI KL’ augusti et restitutus est in loco eius in piternensi ecclesia”. Why this peculiar description of the location of Eluet when Elvet is actually in Durham and in a loop of the river Wear, which is the modern justification for identifying it with Aelfet.ee (isle)? One can only conclude that the writer did not know where Aelfet.ee, the place of the consecration, was but thought it must be located in the Durham area, in the jurisdiction of York and in a locality where ecclesiastical fame and claims were growing as a result of the Cuthbert legends. He knew where Durham was and that the fame of Chester-le-Street was then fading, since in a note just preceding the former he says “fridupald” had been consecrated “in cestra quondam villa religione famosa inter dunelmiam et tine fluvium”.

All these documents are concerned to establish the claims of Durham in the remote past and this last gives the clue that they looked into the *Chronicle* for regional episcopal claims and found that Pehtwin was consecrated at Aelfet.ee. Naturally they looked around for the location of Aelfet.ee and knowing the Cuthbert legends, the fame of ancient Chester-le-Street and the prestige of Durham they concluded that it must be in that area “inter fluvium tese et tyne” according to the York-orientated Whithorn document. Others, possibly later, identified it with Elvet, like the twelfth century forged charters of Durham, so that we get eventually ‘ecclesiam de Ellurette’ and ‘ecclesiam de Elfeite’, where Aelfet.ee is apparently located definitely at Elvet in Durham. The spelling ‘Elfeite’ may derive from the MS variant ‘Aelfaet’ or ‘Adelfaet’ in the *Chronicle*. But

9. p.53ff, H.S. Officer, Surtees Society.

10. [3].

11. [4].

12. [7].

13. In Haliweresfolch ecclesiam de Elfeite et villam.

Aelfet.ee was already 200-300 years old when 'Aeluet' first begins to appear in the Durham documents whether on the professed original dates or on the dates of the forgeries.

The only other early reference seems to be in Florence of Worcester¹⁴ who describes Pehtwin's place of consecration as "in regione quae dicitur Aelfete", which adds nothing and merely shows that he too was uncertain of the location. Simeon does not locate Pehtwin's consecration but under 790 A.D. says "Badwulf ad Candidam-casam ordinatur episcopus in loco qui dicitur Hearrahalch, quod interpretari potest Locus Dominorum".¹⁵ For this event the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives no place. Could this be another reference to Aelfet.ee, just as Athelney is interpreted 'Nobilium Insula' by Simeon?

There is some evidence that Ceolwulf tried to carry out Bede's advice for the better use of the assets of churches and the redeployment of the clergy to areas of need. It probably involved him in great trouble. A chronological table of events at the end of Bede's History, in another hand according to J. A. Giles in Bohn's translation, has two curious entries which are also at variance with the corresponding entries in the Chronicle. Under 737 it says "Ceolwulf, voluntarily receiving the tonsure, left the kingdom to Eadbert". The Chronicle under 729 says Ceolwulf succeeded Osric and reigned eight years. Under 731 this is repeated, but a note in the Bohn edition remarks that another MS gives 729 correctly. This agrees with 737 for his resignation and 738 for Eadbert's succession. The chronicle says Ceolwulf "received Peter's tonsure" on his resignation. He did not die until 760. On the other hand under 759 the table says Eadbert "receiving St. Peter's tonsure for the love of God, and to gain the heavenly country by violence, left the Kingdom to his son Oswulf", while the Chronicle under 757 merely says Eadbert "was shorn". C. E. Whiting says Ceolwulf was imprisoned in a monastery within two years of his accession and then restored the same year.¹⁶ It seems strange that Bede did not show any knowledge of this in his letter of 734, were it not for a sombre reflection of his under 729: 'On the 9th of May, Osric, King of the Northumbrians, departed this life, after he had reigned eleven years, and appointed Ceolwulf, brother of Coenred, who had reigned before him, his successor; the beginning and progress of whose reign were so filled with commotions, that it cannot yet be known what is to be said concerning them or what end they will have' (E.H.). This suggests there had been early trouble and that it was continuing to the end of the reign. Whiting's reference depends on Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, 732 A.D., which says "Also in the same year King Ceolwulf was taken captive, tonsured and sent back to his kingdom", but if this refers to 737 it throws another light on his 'voluntary' receiving of the tonsure which suggests that force was or had been used. Perhaps it was not only a heavenly country that Eadbert gained by violence.

There was evidently great trouble in 737-740. Under 740 the table of the continuator of Bede says Ethelbald of Mercia "through impious fraud, wasted part of Northumbria, their king Eadbert with his army being employed against the Picts". In 741 the Laud MS of the Chronicle says York was burnt. Was Mercia in 737 in league with Eadbert, against Ceolwulf? The author of the table is strongly pro-Egbert and Eadbert, and the differences in the descriptions of the tonsuring of Ceolwulf and Eadbert suggest there was a dynastic dispute; that Ceolwulf's accession was first disputed and he was forced to enter a monastery but soon restored, perhaps with pro-Egbert ecclesiastical backing as Bede's respect for him might indicate, but finally succumbed to the Eadbert-Egbert fraction and entered a monastery, whether voluntarily or not. Was Bede fortunate in his

14. died 1118 A.D.

15. *Hist. Regum*.

16. 'Bede', ed. A. H. Thompson, p.33.

death? Within two years of it Ceolwulf was deposed. Perhaps Egbert was not all that Bede had hoped at his consecration.

The joint eulogies in the table suggest that Egbert worked well with his brother Eadbert, and the Chronicle in 738 says that they were buried side by side under one porch in the city of York, and this may help to explain the contents of the following letter of Pope Paul I in 757-8 to King Eadbert and why Egbert is apparently irrelevantly associated with him in the address though no further reference is made to him in the letter.¹⁷ Meanwhile a similar disturbed period occurred in 758 when Eadbert “was shorn” and his son Oswulf murdered within a year. At that period Pehtwin was consecrated at Aelfet.ee in 763. Ethelwold Moll, whose brother was a certain Abbot Forthred, and who had been subsidized by Eadbert at Forthred’s expense, succeeded in 759. Dorothy Whitelock comments that the Pope’s letter should be read in the light of Bede’s letter to Egbert and I am indebted to the Editor of the *Y.A.J.* for calling my attention to its reference to a monastery at Donaemuthe.

Pope Paul complains that King Eadbert had dispossessed by force a certain “religious Abbot Forthred” of three monasteries, Stonegrave, Coxwold and Donaemuthan, which an abbess had given to him, in order to give them to “a certain patrician, namely his brother Moll”,¹⁸ for secular uses when he should rather have provided the subsidy from his own resources, probably to pay for troops. Forthred had appealed in person to the Pope in Rome and Paul demanded the restoration of the monasteries, and that “no such future deprivations be made to benefit secular owners”. The title ‘patricius’ was used of noblemen of the highest rank and power¹⁹ and Moll would seem to have been both necessary to Eadbert as a powerful supporter, and also a potentially dangerous rival, who in 759 became king of Northumbria as Ethelwold Moll, in a period of violence and dynastic feud which continued for some thirty years under Alchred who deposed Moll and then under Moll’s son Ethelred who was repeatedly deposed, exiled and restored until in 794 he was murdered by his own people, a year after the Vikings destroyed Lindisfarne. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that Athelwold Moll took the kingdom in 759, reigned six years “and then lost it”. He—with Eadbert—seems to have had no scruples in turning Bede’s policy of confiscating the assets of abbeys and in using them for private personal and secular purposes, even when his brother, an abbot, was the sufferer.

These events may have had important bearing on the monastery of Donaemuthe. There is no certain reference to a monastery ‘at Don mouth’ in the Chronicle. In 794 it states that “the heathen ravaged in Northumbria and plundered Egfrith’s monastery at the mouth”, according to one reading, or “at Don Mouth” according to another, and it adds that some of them were killed “at the river mouth”. A few lines earlier under 794 it says that King Osred’s body “is deposited at Tynemouth”—æt Tinan-mude. Florence of Worcester says “in monasterio as ostium Tinae fluminis”. It would be natural to assume that ‘the mouth’ and ‘the river mouth’ of Egfrith’s monastery refer back to this monastery at Tynemouth. Simeon of Durham in his *History of the Durham Church*,²⁰ supports this when he adds the identification ‘this is Jarrow’ (hoc est Gyrium)—Denique anno sequente dum Portum Egfridi regis, id est Gyrium, vastantes monasterium quoque ad ostium Doni amnis deprædarentur”. Unfortunately he repeats this in *Historia Regum* without any mention of Jarrow, and Leland²¹ follows him saying that there was a ‘fluviolus’ called Don entering a ‘sinus’ of the Tyne and that this sinus was the

17. Hadden and Stubbs, *C.H.D.* Vol. III. p.394.

18. cuidam patricio, fratri eius, Moll nomine.

19. see D. Whitelock’s note.

20. *H.E.D.* II.V.

21. *Collect.* ii.328.

portus Egfridi which penetrated inland as far as Jarrow which ‘antiquitus’ was navigable for small ships to about three miles beyond Jarrow. Even if this were so, it is hard to believe that the famous monastery of Jarrow would be called ‘Donmouth’ or ‘at Donmouth’, when it was at the confluence of the much larger and more famous Tyne. Hadden and Stubbs say M.S. Reg. 13A6 of the early Chronicle, incorporated by Hoveden, assumed the place to be Tynemouth, through Petrie and Ingram without evidence say ‘Wearmouth’.

There is an easy explanation of Simeon’s mistake. Ingram’s edition of the chronicle has the explanatory note ‘Thone’ for his translation ‘at the mouth’. The initial letter of the Anglo-Saxon words for ‘the’ and for ‘Don’ are very similar and easily misread or miswritten, so that ‘thone’, ‘the’, could easily become ‘done’ (Done) and ‘the mouth’ ‘donemouth’ (Donemuthe). Simeon himself seems to correct his mistake by the further identification ‘hoc est Gyruum’ because he knew of no monastery at Don mouth. He equated it with the Tyne estuary and Jarrow as the Portus Egfridi with its monastery.

But if Egfrith’s monastery is Jarrow, Dorothy Whitelock says, that it cannot be the Donaemuthe of Pope Paul’s letter because, first, Jarrow was never under secular control in the eighth century and, secondly, because it was never such a double monastery of men and women as the mention of an abbess would indicate. Where then was Paul’s Donaemuthe? Dorothy Whitelock mentions that Sir Frank Stenton had suggested to her privately that it might be at the mouth of the Yorkshire Don. Ingram was in fact probably right in identifying Aelfet.ee with Adelingesfluet of Domesday, and this was the monastery at Don mouth, Donaemuthe. In Domesday it is recorded as having, at the Conquest, a Saxon owner, Siward Barn, and a church and priest. If there was once a monastery here under royal patronage it helps to explain the later wealth of the Rectory—the third richest in the country in the Middle Ages, and the choice of the place for Pehtwin’s consecration in a period of chronic disturbance in Northumbria and York. It might also account for its being confiscated to give it ‘back’ to the royal favourite Moll.

It is most unlikely that the Pope’s injunction was ever obeyed and the monastery surrendered by Moll. The Pope died in 767 and Egbert in 768. In his old age he may well have taken refuge in the quieter area south of the Ouse. It is of interest that the Anglo-Saxon helmet recently found in York is dated 750–775 and has a Christian inscription and the name ‘Oshere’, and shows signs of battle wear. For a general description of this decadent period see Alcuin’s letter in 793 to Moll’s son Ethelred.

The remote situation of Adlingfleet-Aelfetee in a country often isolated by floods and marshes, was the sort of place either Oswiu or Egfrith or their family, associated with Whitby, would have chosen as suitable for a monastic foundation on the lines of Bede’s advice to Egbert and Ceolwulf. If it were founded by Whitby, or under its influence, it would probably be a double foundation.²² Indeed the twelfth and thirteenth-century Rectors of Adlingfleet were responding to the same policy and needs for pastoral care in isolated areas expressed by Pope Gregory IX when they established daughter churches such as Whitgift. There is a reference to a monastery in the Humber area in 716 in the ‘Vita Ceolfridi’ written soon after 716 and used by Bede. Ceolfrith on a journey to Rome, after his resignation of the abbacy of Wearmouth-Jarrow, was overtaken by monks of St. Paul, Jarrow, “in Aelfberth’s monastery, which is situated in the place which is called Cornu Vallis”. Ceolfrith left his monastery on 4 June “intending to put out to sea by the mouth of the Humber. On the 4th of July . . . he embarked on a ship, which before it touched the coast of Gaul was brought to land in the provinces” and he died on 25 September on the road to Langres. D. Whitelock comments that “no place name has been found of which this is a likely translation”, though she suggests without evidence a cell

22. Bede, A. H. Thompson, p.88f.

founded by Wigils, St. Willibrord's father, afterwards inherited by Alcuin.²³ It is said to be 'a headland', 'surrounded by Ocean and the River Humber'. But Cornu Vallis could be a geographical description fitting the Humber-Trent-Don area, since 'Cornu' can refer to the branches of a river and the angle between them, or a tongue of land. Was this the river island, *amnica insula*, 'Aelfberth's monastery', and was Aelfberth the abbot in 716, or the founder? Is there a linguistic connexion with Aelfet.ee? Its geographical position probably made it an attractive position for a Saxon stronghold in the troubles of the next century, so that it remained a centre of national resistance for a time after the Conquest in the hands of Siward Barn.

There may be some supporting evidence from land tenure for this identification of the monastery of Donaemuthe with Aelfet.ee at the mouth of the Yorkshire Don. The Domesday Survey is the pivotal fixed point. It tells us that Siwardbar (Barn) was the last pre-Conquest owner of Adlingfleet and that he was succeeded by the Norman Geoffrey de Wirce (de la Guerche). The next significant fixed point is the early thirteenth or late twelfth century when the Daivilles held Adlingfleet of the Mowbrays, as well as Kilburn and Thorton-on-the-Hill in North Yorkshire near Coxwold and Stonegrave, all Mowbray land. These northern manors probably passed from the pre-Conquest owners Gospatric and/or Orm to the de Stutevilles, d'Aubigny and Mowbray.²⁴

On Geoffrey de Wirce the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (vii, 996) cites the foundation charter of Monks Kirby Priory in Warwickshire of 1077 for the fact that he was the first holder of the Mowbray fee in the Midlands for service to the Conqueror. As a very large Midlands landowner he held two lordships in Leicestershire around Melton, in Warwickshire around Monks Kirby, and a third in north-west Lincolnshire and south-east Yorkshire (Axholme) which he was given between 1066 and 1086 from the confiscated lands of several pre-Conquest tenants after the rebellion and siege of Ely in 1069.²⁵ The first two lordships had belonged to the Saxon thegn Leofwine, whose heiress Aelgifu (Elveva) de Wirce had married. He showed his gratitude by linking 'Elveva his wife and her predecessors' with the Conqueror when giving land to churches in Normandy for their spiritual welfare. He would be a most likely person to have been given the lands of Siward Barn, rounding off his Midland estates to the Humber.²⁶

De la Guerche died in 1093/4, probably in Normandy.²⁷ His Leicestershire and Warwickshire estate passed to Mowbray, as also did Adlingfleet at the end of the eleventh century eventually through Nigel d'Aubigny.²⁸ The Daivilles were powerful in the North and North Midlands by the end of the twelfth century and were lords of Adlingfleet. Their acquisition of Kilburn and Thornton-on-the-Hill may reflect a similar holding by their pre-Conquest predecessors (perhaps including Siward Barn) and may thus explain the linking of Coxwold, Stonegrave and Donaemuthe/Adlingfleet. As for the history of Aelfetee/Adlingfleet there is a remarkable parallel in the destruction and loss of another monastery where in 780 another consecration took place as recorded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 'Hibald (Higbald) was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne island ('ee') at Soccabyrig (Sockburn near Darlington)'. This had been the site of a monastery in the late eighth century and was used for the consecration both of this bishop

23. *E.H.D.* No. 157; Alcuin's 'Life of St. Willibrord', Ch.I.

24. F. M. Stenton, 'English Families and the Norman Conquest', *Trans Royal Hist Soc.*, ser. iv, 26 (1944); D. E. Greenway, *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray* (19), xx.

25. Ordericus Vitalis ii, 229; Whitelock, trans. of *ASC* (1961), 150; see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (1947), p. 595.

26. See Stenton and Greenway, loc. cit. in n.24; J. H. Round in *V.C.H.*, *Warwickshire*, i. pp. 275-6.

27. A. S. Ellis, 'Biographical Notes on Norman Tenants named in Domesday Book', *Y.A:J.* iv. (1877), 223-6.

28. See Greenway, op.cit. in n.24.

of Lindisfarne and of Archbishop Eanbald of York.²⁹

Another example of such a destruction and rebuilding of a Saxon church in Yorkshire can be seen in St. Gregory's Minster at Kirkdale, where a Saxon inscription on the sundial over the doorway records that the church, 'broken down and fallen', was bought and rebuilt from the ground by Orm, son of Gamal, in the days of King Edward and Earl Tosti. Tostig became Earl of Northumbria in 1055, was deposed in 1065 for the murder of Gamal, and was killed at Stamford Bridge in 1066. The Domesday Survey records two churches in Kirkby Moorside, one in Orm's manor, which would be the former Gregory Minster. Siward Barn was a prominent Saxon thegn like his contemporary Orm and may well have restored the church at Adlingfleet (Aelfetee) after its destruction by the Vikings in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Nothing remains of the Saxon church,³⁰ though Harold Brierley, writing in 1901 in the *Leeds Weekend Mercury*, quotes an old sexton as saying that, while grave-digging, he had often turned up masonry extending as far as thirty yards from the east end of the present church towards the course of the old River Don, which ran close by the church to the Trent at nearby Don mouth. This indicated, he thought, the existence of an earlier and bigger church, perhaps with transepts. That church too may have been destroyed or damaged by the Normans when they suppressed the last refuges of Saxon resistance, but it was rebuilt by them as a very fine parish church, as it is still today, though now smaller. In some way through it all the memory and mysterious aura of past glory still haunts the church in the mists of the Prince's Stream.³¹

29. See Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, ii, p.58; C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England* (19), p.127, no. 131; cf. also Simeon of Durham, i. pp. 83, 213 and *Red Book of Durham*, p.526.

30. But there is a mysterious semi-ruined medieval stone building, apparently ecclesiastical, in a croft opposite the entrance to the church. Some have described it as 'Saxon'. See W. Richardson, *Adlingfleet and Whitgift. Some Useful Consumers of Waste*, 1981.

31. It should be mentioned that Mr. M. S. Parker in a communication to the Editor locates the monastery of Donaemuthe at Stainforth near Doncaster, 13 miles south-west of Adlingfleet (Ed.).

MEDIEVAL NEW TOWN AND PORT: A PLAN-ANALYSIS OF HEDON, EAST YORKSHIRE

By T. R. SLATER

Town plans are an important, and much-neglected, source of information on the topography of medieval towns. The plan elements of streets and property divisions are both extremely conservative in their nature and change only very slowly through time. In some towns, archaeological excavations have established that tenement boundaries have survived unchanged for a millenium or more¹. An appropriate methodology for the study of town plans based on this premise of longevity, and upon comparative study, was developed by German scholars in the interwar period, and was imposed and expounded in Britain by M. R. G. Conzen some twenty years ago². Despite this, the analysis of the plans of English medieval towns remains largely on the superficial level of descriptions of street layouts. There have been few detailed investigations of individual towns by either historians or geographers, and even fewer comparative studies³.

The small town of Hedon, East Yorkshire, falls into that category of towns which, since the pioneering work of M. W. Beresford⁴, have been classified as medieval new towns. The town has attracted an extensive literature relative to its size and importance partly, perhaps, because its late-medieval decline left an evocative landscape of grass-grown plots and lanes and an incongruously grand set of corporate institutions, and partly because of its unique harbours and defences. The town was the principal focus of one of Beresford's earliest essays on medieval town foundation⁵ and has been the subject of several substantial local histories⁶ while the Victoria County History has just been published. There are early large-scale plans of the town⁷, which considerably aid plan analysis, as well as a rare 17th-century map⁸, and the town's 19th-century historians have transcribed most of the relevant documentary source material. Archaeological excavations in the mid-1970s have added a little evidence of a different kind but have not greatly upset the established chronology of the town's development⁹ which is perceived to be that of a classic medieval new town, founded in the mid-12th century, and laid out on a grid plan of streets with extensive dock facilities¹⁰. It is the purpose of this paper to show that this is a considerable over-simplification of the way in which Hedon developed.

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1. L. E. Webster & J. Cherry (eds.), 'Medieval Britain in 1976', *Medieval Archaeology*, 21 (1977) pp. 248-9.
 2. M. R. G. Conzen, 'Alnwick: a study in town-plan analysis', *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, 27 (1960); *idem.*, 'The plan analysis of an English city centre', in K. Norborg (ed.), *Proceedings of the I.G.U. symposium in urban geography Lund 1960*, (1962) pp. 383-414.
 3. N. P. Brooks & G. Whittington, 'Planning and growth in the medieval Scottish burgh: the example of St. Andrews', *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, N.S.2 (1977) pp. 288-95; M. W. Barley (ed.), *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England & Wales*, (C.B.A. Research Report, 14) (1976); W. G. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, London (1967).
 4. M. W. Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages*, London (1967).
 5. M. W. Beresford, *History on the ground*, London (1957), pp. 125-51.
 6. J. R. Boyle, *The early history of the town and port of Hedon*, Hull (1895); G. R. Park, *The history of the ancient borough of Hedon*, Hull (1895); M. T. Craven, *A new and complete history of the borough of Hedon*, Driffield (1972).
 7. J. Iveson, *Survey and plan of Hedon* (1804); reproduced in Boyle (1895) *op.cit.* pp. 198-211. C. B. Baker, *Survey and plan of Hedon* (1838).
 8. H.R.O. DDCC/45/37.
 9. C. Hayfield & T. R. Slater, *The medieval town of Hedon: excavations 1975-6*, Hull (1984, forthcoming).
 10. Beresford, (1957) *op.cit.*

The Setting of the Town

Hedon is located at the south-west edge of the belt of Boulder Clay and glacial till that makes up the Holderness region of Yorkshire. The southern part of Holderness is drained by four south-westward flowing streams, one of which, the Humbleton Beck, flows past the low mound upon which Hedon was built, before entering the Humber estuary 3 km beyond at Paull. Between the Boulder Clay hillocks, which are rarely higher than c.20 m, and the Humber, was an area of fertile but seasonally inundated siltland. The history of this siltland belt is intimately bound up with the history of Spurn Head, the spit that guards the north bank entrance to the Humber estuary. Periodically Spurn Head has been eroded to destruction only to grow again in subsequent centuries¹¹. When the spit is at its maximum extent so too are the siltlands, but the erosion of Spurn leads to the erosion of the siltlands. The later Anglo-Saxon period, through to c. 1100, was a period of siltland growth. Destruction of the spit in c. 1100 led to flooding and siltland loss. The late 12th- and 13th-centuries were a period of siltland growth and also of extensive embankment and drainage south of Hedon, but the spit's destruction in the early 14th century¹² saw increasing inundation by salt water and the destruction of dykes, farms and settlements¹³. The loss of this medieval landscape evidence means that it is difficult to be precise about the nature of the Humber coastline, or about the estuaries of the streams on the north bank and the drainage channels, granges and hamlets of the agrarian landscape before the 16th century. The substantial changes initiated in the drainage system by the improvements of the 17th and 18th centuries are particularly important too, as without some understanding of these changes it is difficult to appreciate the earlier waterway system which was the basis of Hedon's port and market functions. Indeed, the majority of the early medieval dykes in both the siltlands and in Holderness proper, as well as in the Hull valley to the west, were constructed not primarily for drainage but to improve the transport network¹⁴.

Until the 12th century Hedon seems to have been a place of little consequence. It finds no place in Domesday Book in 1086 and if it were not for the evidence of the place-name it would be necessary to say that it did not exist as a settlement before that time. However, the place-name is derived from Old English elements [*haeth -dun*] which mean 'uncultivated, or heath-covered, hill'¹⁵. This is of interest on two counts: first, topographically it is probably the lowest *dun* place-name in England - a tribute to the prominence, from the extensive levels of the siltlands, of the 8 m hillock on which the church and town centre were established; while secondly, the Old English linguistic origins strongly suggest that Hedon was a recognised name long before 1086¹⁶. A name is not necessarily a settlement of course, and early topographic names can be attached to later settlements. However, conversely the Domesday record is of manorial holdings, not of all existing settlements and the lack of Domesday entry is no evidence that a settlement did not exist. Nonetheless, if a settlement did exist it was certainly small and of little consequence in the mid-11th century.

In 1086, this south-west part of Holderness was dominated by the manorial centres to the north and east of Hedon-Preston and Burstwick, respectively. Preston had once been held by the Church at York, hence the name, which means 'priest's farm', but in 1066 it

11. G. de Boer, 'Spurn Head: its history and evolution', *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, 34 (1964) pp. 71-90.

12. *ibid*: J. R. Boyle, *The lost towns of the Humber*, Hull (1889).

13. J. A. Sheppard, 'The draining of the marshlands of south Holderness and the Vale of York', *East Yorkshire Local History Series*, 20 (1966).

14. J. A. Sheppard, 'The Hull valley: the evolution of a pattern of artificial drainage', *Geographical Studies*, 5 (1958) pp. 33-44.

15. A. H. Smith, 'The place-names of East Yorkshire', *English place name society*, 14 (1937) pp. 39-40.

16. M. Gelling, personal communication.

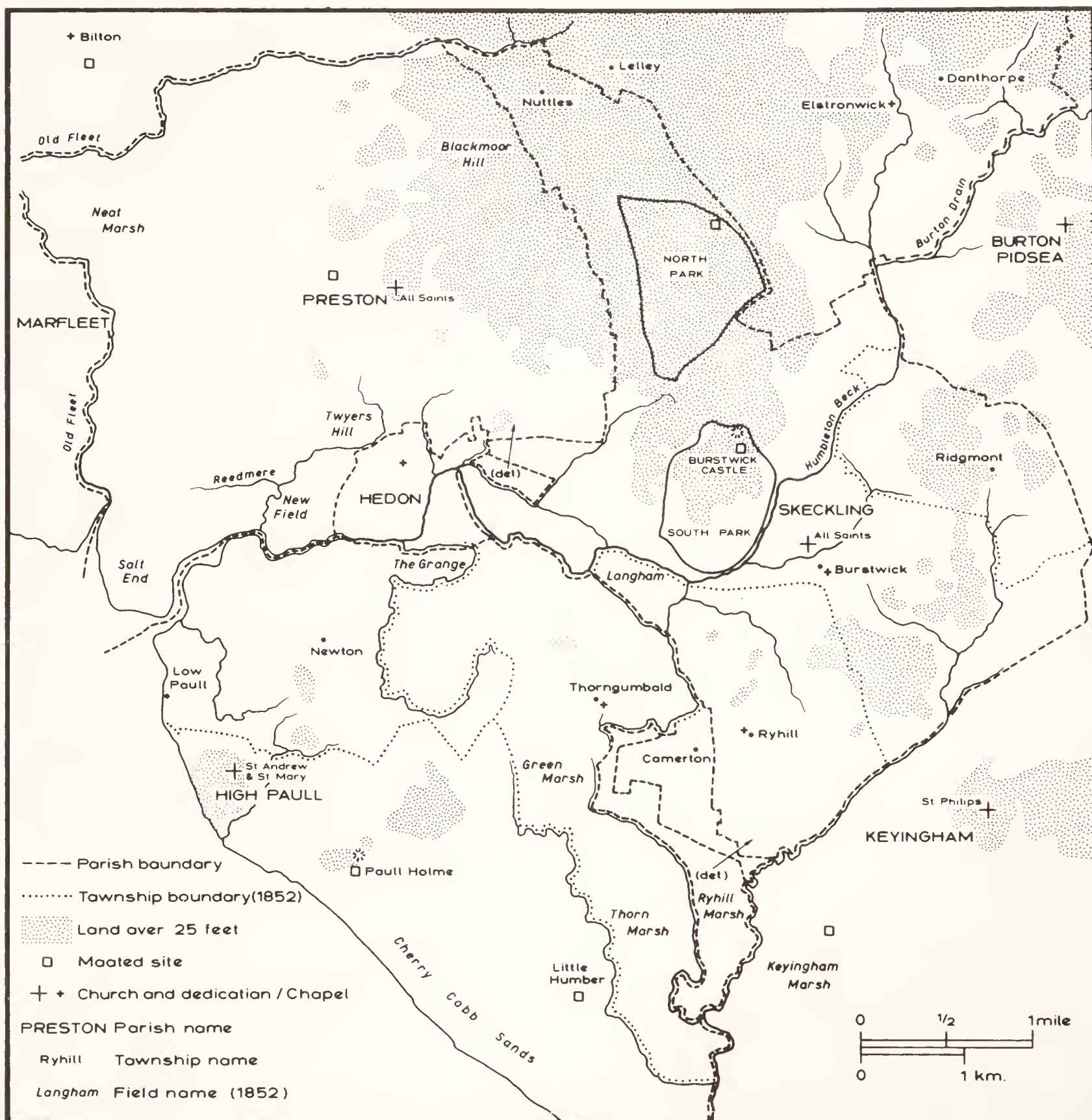


Fig. 1. Waterways and townships in south-west Holderness.

was farmed by no less than eight freeholders. By 1086, together with all the lands of Holderness not held by the Church, it had been consolidated into a single seignory. Burstwick had been part of the estates of Earl Tosti but its many outlying berewicks were also held by small freeholders in 1066¹⁷. It, too, was amalgamated into the seignory of Holderness after the Conquest. The two estates had always had links as the evidence of the parish and township bounds, shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:10560 maps, makes clear (Fig. 1). Preston was the earliest parish centre and the church of All Saints and its priest are recorded in Domesday. It is probable that this church originally served the whole of what were to become the later parishes of Preston, Skeckling and Paull. This whole area is bounded by streams and ancient dykes except for very short stretches, whereas the boundary between Preston and Skeckling-cum-Burstwick is of the later, more complex type of boundary following the intricacies of open field agriculture (Fig. 1). The identical dedication of Skeckling church to All Saints

17. W. Farrar, 'The Yorkshire Domesday', *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, 2, London (1912) pp. 264-5.

is a common feature of daughter church development and provides another strand of evidence for this argument. The boundaries also demonstrate the complexity of the smaller township holdings within the parishes which allowed each berewick to have its share of the siltland, the marsh pastures and the arable lands. The knitting together of the lands of Preston, Thorngumbald, Newton and Burstwick to the south and east of Hedon is a good example of this, enabling each vill to have its share of the valuable meadowland in this area (Fig. 1).

Following the Conquest of northern England all these estates were consolidated into a single seignory granted to one overlord¹⁸. The lord of Holderness was related to the Conqueror by marriage, as befitted a man trusted with the important lands controlling the north bank of the Humber, up which so many Danish fleets had sailed to capture York and so control the north of England. The first lord, Drogo de la Beuvrière, was a Flemish knight and, besides Holderness, he was granted extensive estates in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. He is thought to have built Skipsea castle in the north of Holderness, the first centre of the Honour¹⁹. Following Drogo's disgrace in 1087, Holderness was granted to Odo, Count of Aumale, brother-in-law of the Conqueror, whose Normandy estates centred on the *pays* of Aumale. The Holderness estate included all the lands not already held by the Church, and all men in the Wapentake not tenants of the church came under the rule of the counts of Aumale²⁰. Skipsea castle was slighted in 1221 on the orders of the king, but by c.1150 a new centre for the honour of Holderness had already been established at Burstwick where a manor house and adjacent deer park were constructed, two further parks being added subsequently (Fig. 1). It seems probable that Hedon was being developed at much the same time, through the first half of the 12th century, as the principal town, market and port for the extensive estates of the Aumales, as well as an administrative centre where the Wapentake court could meet regularly. The region that it served, the Honour of Holderness, thus lay primarily to the north and east and it is perhaps significant that throughout the medieval period there was no direct road between Hedon and Hull, to the west.

Historical Sources for Development

Hedon was raised to the status of a seigneurial borough sometime between 1156 and 1172-3²¹ when the Count of Aumale, William le Gros, obtained the town's first known charter from Henry II. This brief charter granted burgage tenure to the people of Hedon with rights as of the burgesses of York and Lincoln²². However, Hedon had clearly been in existence for some time previous to the later 12th century and documentary sources suggest that it had probably been developing since the beginning of the century. It is first mentioned with certainty in 1138x43, when Count William granted a one-acre toft at Hedon to St. Leonard's Hospital in York so that they might more conveniently collect corn and alms from their tenants²³. The grant also included the gift of one mark yearly from his 'toll of Hedon', almost certainly the market tolls. A second grant, a year or two later, enabled five men to live there and work as merchants or craftsmen quit of all customs and tolls. (The plot granted is shown on Fig. 4).

During the civil war between Stephen and Matilda the town was minting coins for Stephen in 1153-54, probably because the Count was a prominent supporter of his faction²⁴, but the important point to note is that the possession of a mint was a specifically

18. B. English, *The lords of Holderness 1086-1260: a study in feudal society*, Oxford (1979) pp. 6-13.

19. *ibid.*

20. *ibid.*

21. B. English, 'Counts of Aumale and Holderness, 1086-1260', *unpubl. Ph.D., Univ. of St. Andrews*, (1977) p. 471.

22. W. Farrar, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 3, Edinburgh (1916) p. 45.

23. *ibid.*, p. 43.

24. F. G. Jones, 'Hedon near Hull: a new Norman mint', *British Numismatic Journal*, 26 (1949) pp. 28-30.

urban function. Between 1155 and 1162, Count William obtained a licence from the king for an eight-day fair which he vested in the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Newton, one km south of Hedon. This fair was held at Magdalen Fields to the east of the town²⁵, while in 1170x75 William vested the whole of Newton township with its farm stock, the mill of Preston (worth five marks annually), and three shillings rent from Hedon, to provide for the two priests, two clerks and thirty lepers of the Hospital²⁶. By 1160, Meaux Abbey held property in the town²⁷, and by 1162 the Wapentake court of Holderness was meeting regularly in Hedon. Almost all of this documented urban activity therefore preceded the grant of the first borough charter sometime between 1156 and 1172-3.

The borough charter was confirmed by King John in 1200, and a licence was obtained by the borough in 1202 to continue their right to sell dyed cloth²⁸. Markets were held on both Wednesdays and Saturdays. A second hospital, St. Sepulchre's, is first mentioned in 1205²⁹ and by c.1251 the town was sending men to the eyre court in their own right³⁰. 13th-century deeds and rolls mention weavers, goldsmiths, a dyer and a skinner amongst crafts and tradesmen, while street names point to bakers, shoemakers and butchers among the inhabitants³¹. A second eight-day fair was obtained from Henry III in 1272, at Augustine-tide (Aug. 20th-27th), but by then the prosperity of the town was declining in the face of competition from other Humber ports, particularly Hull and Ravenserod³². In 1280, in an attempt to arrest the decline, the burghers petitioned Edward I to obtain the fee farm of the borough. The petitioners described the growing poverty of the town and the increasing migration of merchants to Hull and Ravenserod in order to avoid the lord of Holderness' annual tallage in Hedon. To some extent this is confirmed by the Lay Subsidy of 1297 which, although showing a similar contribution from Hedon and Ravenserod (£4/1/4d and £5/19/7d respectively) and a greater number of tax-payers in Hedon (45, as against 36 in Ravenserod), also shows clearly that the richer merchants had already abandoned Hedon. The greatest individual tax contribution from Hedon was 3s 10d whereas in Ravenserod there were seven tax-payers contributing more than 5s each³³.

TABLE I
URBAN RANKINGS IN 1334³⁴

Places taxed at 1/10		Places taxed at 1/15	
City of York	£162	Doncaster	£17
Hull	£33/6/8d	Howden	£8
Scarborough	£33/6/8d	Market Weighton	£8
Ravenserod	£15	Selby	£8
Hedon	£10/13/4d	Beverley	£7
Driffield	£10	Bridlington	£6/6/8
Grimsby	£9/14/5 ¹ / ₂ d	Wakefield	£6

25. D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, Cambridge (1953), pp. 275-6.
26. Farrar, (1916) *op.cit.*, pp. 37-8.
27. *ibid.*, pp. 44-5; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, Rolls Series (1866), p.88.
28. Pipe Roll, 1202; *Pipe Roll Society* N.S.16 (1938), p. 65.
29. W. Page, 'Ecclesiastical History' *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, 3, London (1913) p. 309.
30. English (1979), *op.cit.*, p. 220.
31. G. Poulson, *The history and antiquities of the seignory of Holderness II*, Hull (1841) pp. 104-80; Boyle, (1895) *op.cit.*, Appendices.
32. *ibid.*
33. W. Brown (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy of 29, Edward I', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, Record Series, XVI (1894), pp. 117-31.
34. R. E. Glasscock (ed.), 'The Lay Subsidy of 1334', *Records of Social and Economic History*, N.S.II (1975) pp. 356-95.

By the great Lay Subsidy of 1334, Hedon had clearly slipped further behind as a merchants' town and port but it was still a reasonably prosperous market town, its taxable value comparing with Drifffield, Selby, Howden and Market Weighton, as well as with Grimsby on the south bank of the Humber (Table I). The destruction of Ravenserod in the late 1340s, caused by the erosion of Spurn Head, seems to have done little to enhance Hedon's economic standing, as the primary port of the Humber was now firmly established at Hull.

In 1348, a last attempt was made to revive the fortunes of the town when Edward III granted Hedon a Charter of Incorporation. The charter greatly extended the borough's rights and privileges and established it as a self-governing community paying an annual fee farm to the Crown of £30³⁵. The charter is remarkable as only the second such to be granted, following that given to Coventry in 1345³⁶. However, by then it was too late. Large numbers of burgages were reverting to use as pasture closes; by the end of the 15th century only St. Augustine's survived of the town's four churches, and its extensive dock facilities had mostly been abandoned.

The Town Plan

Hedon's town plan has all the superficial signs of a medieval new town. The place is unrecorded in Domesday; its principal parish church, St. Augustine's, was dependent upon the church of Preston and remained so throughout the medieval period; the borough encloses only some 320 acres (129.5 ha); there is no common field land attached to the township, and much of the street plan has the distinctive regularity indicative of a planned origin³⁷. Hedon's town plan is usually categorized as a simple grid with three north-south streets and three east-west, together with two or three artificial havens or canals running north-south at right angles to the River Hedon. An eastward extension of the town is usually postulated, enclosing lands east of The Fleet, to give two phases of development and the suburban nature of Magdalen Hill is also acknowledged. However, the plan has been perceived as easily understood and most of the debate about the topography of the town has concerned the havens and ditches which surround the town and just what length of them were navigable and used as wharfage.

It is notable that all analyses of the topography of Hedon, as indeed of most English towns, have concerned themselves with the street plan only, and that published 'sketch plans' are often grossly distorted in order to emphasise the points made by the writer. Even the briefest glance at the first edition of the 1/2500 Ordnance Survey plan of the town is enough to show that the street plan does not have the mechanistic regularity that so many writers have given to it³⁸, and that when considered in relation to the pattern of plot boundaries a more complex developmental sequence is clearly indicated. At least eight principal plan divisions are apparent, representing at least four chronologically separate phases of development. The principal source for the plan analysis that follows is the 1/2500 O.S. plan of Hedon surveyed in 1888. Supplementary information can be gathered from the 1/10560 O.S. plan surveyed in 1852-3, from the plan of the town drawn in 1804 by R. Iveson and its accompanying schedule of field names and from the early map of the town probably dating from 1627-30. This combination of source materials enables much of the late medieval and early modern topographic information in the Hedon Corporation archives to be located. This work has already been attempted by the 19th-century historians of Hedon³⁹, but although much of their work is reliable there are some notable errors which have subsequently found their way into derivative

35. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.*, Appendices; H.R.O. DDHE/2/3.

36. M. Weinbaum, *The incorporation of boroughs*, Manchester (1937) pp. 45-62.

37. Beresford (1957), *op.cit.*

38. L. Butler, 'The evolution of towns: planned towns' in Barley, *op.cit.* pp. 32-47.

39. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.*, Park, *op.cit.*

historical works. The principal plan divisions, or ‘plan units’ to use the terminology developed by Conzen⁴⁰, are indicated on Figure 3 and will be analysed in the probable order of their chronological development.

(a) *The Town Centre*: This unit has an essentially *irregular* street plan and plot pattern very different from the more regularly arranged areas of the town to its south. An understanding of this previously unrecognised division in the town plan is essential to an appreciation of its evolution since this irregular plan unit must be reckoned as the pre-urban nucleus of the settlement. Its focus is the chapel of St. Augustine and the triangular open space to the north, later known as Market Hill. Associated with this nucleus are the streets running north to Preston (Soutergate), east to Burstwick (Magdalen Lane) and, probably, south to Paull (Sheriff Highway), while the medieval Westbriggate is an important element in this plan unit. These streets, and the initially extensive triangular green contained by them, formed the nucleus about which a settlement had developed at some time previous to the mid-12th century (Fig. 2A).

Green villages are unusual in Holderness, the most common village form being irregular linear. Indeed, linearity often reaches extreme proportions with villages strung out along a road for a mile or more on the higher mounds of underlying Boulder Clay, thereby keeping well clear of the frequent flooding of the valley floors. Preston, to the north of Hedon, is a good example of such a village with its tofts spreading for almost two miles and its field lands on each side to north and south⁴¹. The greater nucleation of pre-urban Hedon can be seen as a function of the small area of its Boulder Clay ‘island’.

As one of the hamlets that made up the township of Preston the lack of record of Hedon in Domesday should occasion no surprise, particularly since the record for Preston contains no mention of the outlying berewicks that are a feature of Burstwick. More positively, the antiquity of the place-name makes it unlikely that the site of Hedon was still a heath-covered waste when the town was founded, while the relationship of the Hedon churches to each other, and to the mother church at Preston, suggests the antiquity of St. Augustine’s. St. Augustine’s was dependent upon Preston and was served only by a chaplain, though by the later medieval period ministers were normally instituted to the livings of Preston and Hedon jointly, and Hedon had rights of burial⁴².

The church is first mentioned in 1160x62, when Count William presented the church of Preston with the chapels of Hedon to St. Martin’s abbey, Aumale⁴³. Clearly, at least two of Hedon’s churches were in existence and both were dependent chapelries. The second chapel was probably St. James, which is almost certainly contemporary with the planned element of the town, which had been developed by 1138x43. St. James’ is poorly documented but it would seem to have been regarded as a chapel of St. Augustine’s. A parish of St. James’ is not referred to in late-medieval documents; the church was normally styled ‘chapel’; while chantries and other benefactions were established almost exclusively in St. Augustine’s. St. James’ did have rights of burial, however and was used for election meetings of the community of the town⁴⁴. St. Augustines’ was the only church to survive into the 16th century and is one of the five largest churches in the East Riding. Its fabric contains extensive elements of the early 12th century. Its seniority, size, surviving fabric and the scant historical record all suggest an origin in the early part of the 12th century—possibly even the later 11th century—and, since churches were built to

40. Conzen (1960), *op.cit.*

41. M. Harvey, ‘Irregular villages in Holderness, Yorkshire: some thoughts on their origin’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1982) pp. 63–71.

42. K. J. Allison (ed.), *Victoria County History of Yorkshire: East Riding*, 5, London (1984) p. 182.

43. Farrar (1916) *op.cit.*, p. 36.

44. Poulson, *op.cit.*, notes that the evidence of burials was still occasionally discovered in the mid-nineteenth century; Boyle (1895), *op.cit.*, provides evidence of the election meetings, p. 89.

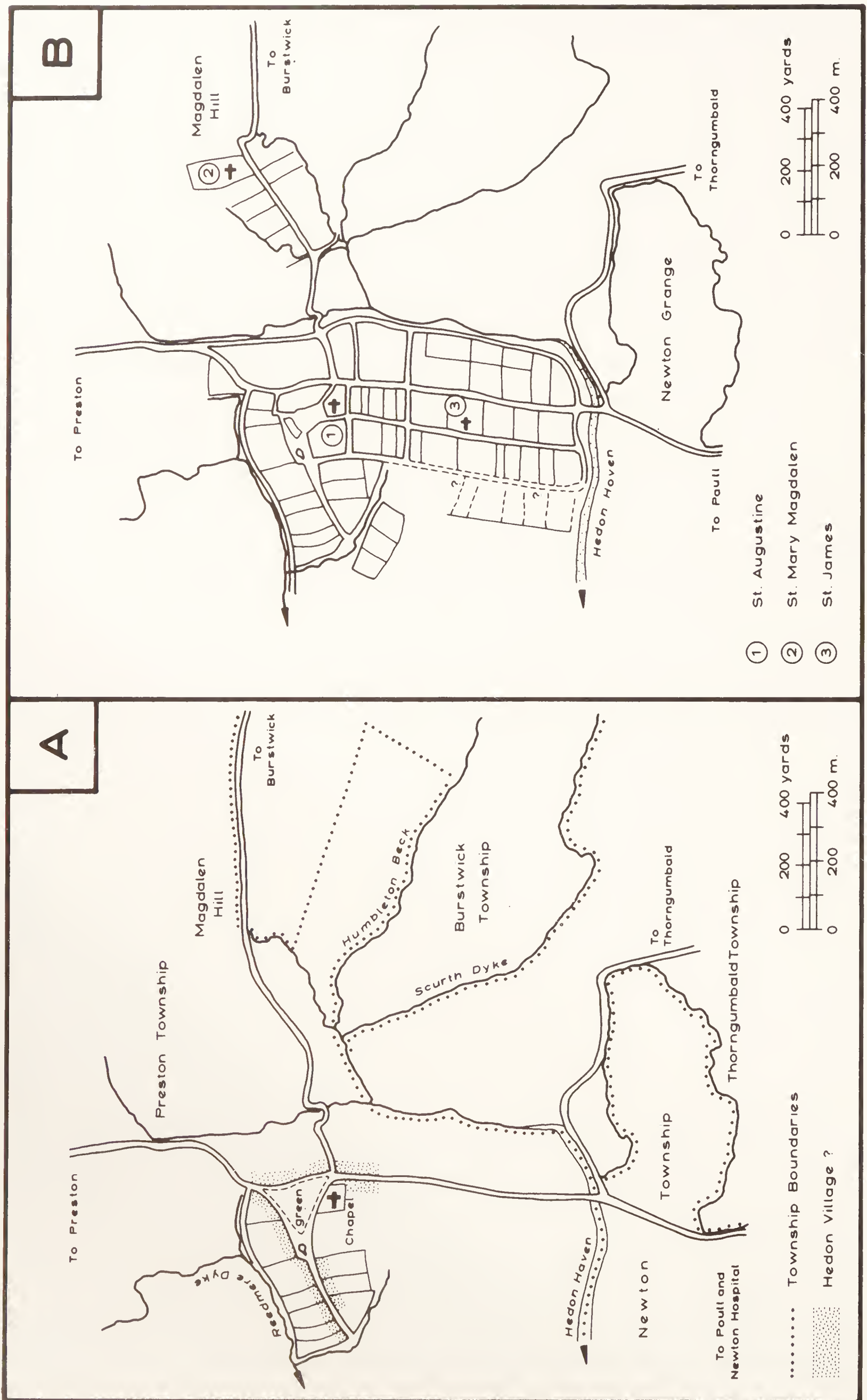


Fig. 2 The development of Hedon: A pre-urban, B the planned new town.

serve communities, there must necessarily have been a settlement on the Hedon hill at the same time.

A community of any size also implies fields, however, and this presents a difficulty in the argument since Hedon lacks arable fields, the extensive south field of Preston extending almost to the town. Harvey has argued elsewhere that the very regular field system of Preston was probably re-ordered, or perhaps even totally replanned, sometimes between the 11th and the mid-13th centuries⁴⁵. Lacking any other evidence, she suggests the centralising authority of the Earls of Aumale on their accession to the Holderness seignory as the reason for this reorganisation, particularly since other townships presented similar evidence of carefully ordered and regulated field systems. However, it may be that at Preston an even greater force for change in the early 12th century was the advancement of Hedon to urban status and the incorporation of its area of field land into that of Preston. The lone farm of Twyers, just beyond the north-west borough boundary, may be a relict of the earlier layout, as though it made up one of the oxgangs of Preston fields, it alone of the farmsteads was not located in Preston village. Hedon's urban status was due to the policies of Count William le Gros, and he, more than any other of the Aumales, enjoyed the long life which ensured the continuity of estate administration that must have been necessary to reorder a substantial proportion of the rural landscape of the Holderness seignory.

Another possibility in explanation of the missing arable lands is that the Hedon pre-urban settlement concentrated upon exploiting the pastoral lands of Preston manor, since it is close to the marshland pastures. Irregular green villages of the type hypothesised at Hedon are most often found in mixed farming areas, the green being used to enclose the herds at night⁴⁶. The pond at the western end of the Market Hill green adds credence to this possibility. One last speculation that might be ventured as to another function of the green is that it may have served as the hundred court meeting place. The meeting places of the Holderness hundreds are not recorded but the courts often met in open places, at communications nodes, where townships joined. The hundreds had a relatively short life in Holderness and by the mid-12th century at latest had been merged into a single Wapentake court by the Counts of Aumale. The meeting place of the Wapentake court is first recorded in 1160, at Hedon, though by then the place had already become a town.

Thus far, this pre-urban plan unit has been categorized as 'irregular'. However, the irregularity is more characteristic of the street spaces than of the tofts, particularly those that line the broad road which develops from the apex of the green, the medieval Westbriggate. These large plots have a certain comparability of size which suggests that the settlement around the green might well have been laid out, or replanned at a particular time. Regular village plans are uncharacteristic of Holderness⁴⁷, though not of Yorkshire, and if such replanning did take place the later 11th century is the most likely period.

Once the town had been founded this first plan-unit became the commercial hub of the settlement. The green became the town's market place and parts of it were colonised by permanent buildings, particularly on the eastern side. Public buildings such as the Hall of Pleas, the prison and the grammar school were built on this corporate land⁴⁸, and parts of

45. M. Harvey, 'The morphological and tenorial structure of a Yorkshire township: Preston in Holderness 1066-1750', *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London Occasional Papers*, 13 (1978); *idem.*, 'Regular field and tenorial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography* 6, (1980) pp. 3-16.

46. H. Thorpe, 'The green villages of County Durham', *Transactions Institute of British Geographers*, 15 (1949) pp. 155-80.

47. J. A. Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2 (1976) pp. 3-20.

48. Boyle, (1895) *op.cit.*, pp. 169-71; Park (1895), *op.cit.*, pp. 214-6.

the former open space were still being enclosed in the 19th century⁴⁹. Market Hill possibly served primarily as the livestock market in medieval times, as it did in the 19th century, since the space east of the churchyard was regularised into a small rectangular provisions market and it was here that the market cross stood. By the 16th century this latter area had become the main market place and it was enlarged and partly rebuilt⁵⁰.

Each of these developments can be paralleled in towns elsewhere in England and it is upon such comparability that the methods of plan-analysis rest. The development of a triangular green at a road junction into a market space has been chronicled at Alnwick⁵¹; the separation of livestock and provision market functions into separate market places can be seen in many English towns including grid-plan new towns such as Stratford-upon-Avon⁵²; the laying out of a planned new town besides an existing village or hamlet is commonplace in almost every region, while the choice of places for urban development which were already developing central-place functions, administrative, trading or ecclesiastical, is again so often found as to be considered the normal pattern⁵³.

(b) *The Grid-planned Town*: The first stage of the planned town was laid out to the south of the settlement around the green and linked it with the tidal part of the Humbleton Beck which was known as Hedon Haven (Fig. 2B). The Haven was already navigable to the sea-going ships of the period at least as far as the point where it was bridged by the road to Paull. The plan form chosen was to parallel the existing road southwards to Paull with a second street of equal status and to provide one cross street one third of the distance southwards from church to Haven. A second chapel was provided to serve this planned settlement, St. James', on a plot between the two north-south streets and midway between St. Augustine's and the Haven. Around this planned layout, on at least its south and east sides, and initially possibly also on the west, ran a subsidiary road parallel to the Humbleton Beck and the Haven. The different secondary, function of this road, the medieval Woodmarket gate (now Love Lane), is important and it should not be equated with the two principal north-south streets of the planned layout.

The plot pattern emphasizes this differentiation. The land west of medieval Walkergate (Middle Lane), between Walkergate and Sheriff Highway, and east of Sheriff Highway was laid out in regular tenements some 330 feet long (100.6 m). This left a strip of land west of Woodmarketgate just over 180 feet deep (54.9 m) which seems to have been divided into roughly similar-sized tenements but with the long axis parallel to the street. It was one of these less important backland plots that was granted to St. Leonard's Hospital, York in 1138x43 (Fig. 4). This planned layout had been added to the town by 1143 at latest therefore—well before the first borough charter was granted. The historical and plan evidence is supported by the archaeological evidence from the excavations carried out on the west side of Middle Lane in the mid-1970s. Here, the earliest occupation layers on these new town plots, as evidenced from the pottery, dated from the first half of the 12th century. The area had been abandoned by the late-14th century and the plots reverted to pasture⁵⁴.

From studies in the West Midlands and Devon it is known that the majority of urban planning schemes utilised statute measures, of which the most common were the acre and the perch. Customary measures, which are commonly found in medieval open-field layouts and which vary substantially from region to region, seem not to have been used

49. Iveson, *op.cit.*

50. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.* pp. 1894; Park (1895), *op.cit.*, pp. 205-6.

51. Conzen (1960), *op.cit.*

52. T. R. Slater & C. Wilson, *Archaeology and development in Stratford-upon-Avon, Birmingham* (1977).

53. Beresford (1967), *op.cit.*

54. Hayfield & Slater, *op.cit.*

in laying out towns⁵⁵. There is no early documentation of the size of Hedon burgages, such as is found in some town foundation charters, but the plan evidence indicates that Hedon's burgages were intended to be 20 perches (330 feet, 100.6 m) deep. The initial widths are more problematical. Plot division and amalgamation is usually carried out longitudinally and over the centuries a considerable variety of plot widths result. However, initial plot boundaries are exceedingly long-lived features of town plans and excavations over the past decades have proved their survival over a millenium in some towns. The most easily recognisable feature of such boundaries is the lack of any deviation between front and back of plot⁵⁶. By plotting such surviving boundaries from the 1884 1/25000 plans, supplemented by information on Iveson's 1804 survey, a number of plots some 130 feet wide (39.6 m), or roughly eight perches (132 feet) can be discerned. If the initial planned layout of burgages in this part of the town was 20x8 perches, the areal equivalent would be exactly one statute acre, the recorded size of the plot given to St. Leonard's Hospital, York. Such large plots are quite usual in later medieval planned towns, but in the 12th century smaller plots are more often found, such as the 12x3½ perch, quarter-acre plots of the Bishop of Worcester's planned new town at Stratford-upon-Avon, developed in the 1190s⁵⁷.

The abandonment of most of this planned area of Hedon in the later medieval period, and its reversion to pasture, together with modern post-war housing developments, precludes the use of field measurement techniques which have been successfully used elsewhere to analyse medieval burgage dimensions. However, at Hedon the archaeological excavations on the west side of Middle Lane uncovered a series of medieval east-west ditches that almost certainly represent burgage boundaries, while a wider and deeper ditch beside the road emphasises the importance of drainage on this low-lying clay site. The burgage boundaries of six out of a possible nine complete plots within the excavated area were approximately one chain (66 feet or 20 m) apart—that is four perches—while one other plot was 99 feet (30 m); or six perches, wide. It may be that the estimates made from the relict plan boundaries represent the amalgamation of plots in the later medieval period and that the original planning module of the Hedon planned burgages was 20x4 perches, giving half-acre plots. Alternatively, the excavation evidence might represent the second stage of the planning process whereby the original burgages were sub-divided and sub-let by their first holders. This is well-evidenced in borough rentals elsewhere, the common divisions being longitudinally into halves or thirds. However, since there is little early documentation for the dimensions of Hedon's plots the argument must be left there.

Finally, it should be noted that there is no evidence of the crossways division of plots between the two principal north-south roads. These plots therefore initially enjoyed frontages upon both roads. This type of layout is technically one variety of the parallel street system group of plans, rather than a true grid plan. This is an unusual type of plan in English medieval towns, though it is much more common in northern Germany. It would be interesting to find similar town plans in Normandy, in view of the continuing interest of the Counts of Aumale in their continental estates, but little investigative work has been undertaken into the development of Norman medieval towns.

(c) *The Suburbs*: There are two small suburban developments beyond the ditch which ringed the town. To the north was a small area of common grazing land, part of which was to be included within the borough boundary (Fig. 2B). Beyond this was the extensive site of St. Sepulchre's Hospital, technically not in Hedon, but in Preston. It was

55. T. R. Slater, 'The analysis of burgage patterns in medieval towns', *Area*, 13 (1981) pp. 211-16.

56. *ibid.*

57. Slater & Wilson, *op.cit.*

founded by Alan Fitz-Osbern of Twyers, the estate north west of Hedon, as a leper hospital at the beginning of the 13th century. It is first documented in 1205⁵⁸. Both men and women were admitted and subsequently residents included the old and infirm. The seven acres granted to it contained the moated site of the hospital and its chapel, and extensive gardens. As a leper hospital initially, its suburban location occasions no surprise; indeed, it is somewhat closer to the town than were most such institutions.

The second suburb is of rather more interest, though it too is associated with a leper hospital: in this instance the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Newton, in Paull township, one km to the south of Hedon. The hospital is thought to have been founded by Count William le Gros sometime before 1160 and its inmates were normally styled the *leprosi de Hedona* or the *infirmi de Hedona*⁵⁹. As with St. Sepulchre's, an initial function as a leper hospital seems to have been widened to include the old and infirm. The hospital had extensive estates and at the Dissolution these were valued at some £40. Besides the land around the hospital itself, it possessed a large grange farm to the south of Hedon, beyond Sheriffbridge (Fig. 2B), and lands to the north east of the town which were to be known as Magdalen Hill. The hospital was granted an eight-day fair in c.1155x62 and this fair was held on Magdalen Hill. Medieval fairs normally took place on designated fields or commons beyond the built-up area of towns so, again, the location of this fair occasions no surprise. No surprise that is, until it is remembered that the first borough charter is no more than contemporary with the fair grant, and that if the town did not already exist by 1155 it would seem more logical to hold the fair in the vicinity of the hospital to which it had been granted. Again, therefore, one is led to the conclusion that the town was already flourishing by the 1150s.

The hospital provided a chapel on Magdalen Hill for those attending the fair and, at some stage, developed its land as a planned suburb of tenement plots. The street was straightened, a regular series of plots laid out along it on both sides and the whole was eventually to be enclosed within the borough boundary, probably at the granting of the town's Charter of Incorporation in 1348 (Fig. 3C). Such attempts to capitalize upon the prosperity of boroughs by neighbouring lords or institutions, through developing suburbs or founding essentially parasitic boroughs, again have many parallels elsewhere⁶⁰. The decline in the prosperity of the town in the later medieval period led to the abandonment of these tenements on Magdalen Hill to pasture closes, as in the planned town.

It may be that the earliest documented mention of Hedon can be tied to a building located at the southern end of Magdalen Hill. In 1115, Stephen, Count of Aumale, granted an *hospitum* beside the river Hedon to St. Martin's abbey, Aumale, together with free passage across the Humber. Later evidence, from a survey taken when the property of St. Martin's was granted to the Dean and Chapter at York, suggests that this building lay just outside the defences, on the south side of Magdalen Hill, by the Fleet⁶¹ (see below). This mid-13th century survey also notes that the property was held in free burgage tenure and Beresford has recently used this evidence to suggest that Hedon's borough status can therefore be pushed back to 1115⁶². Certainly it suggests that the hill-top settlement about its triangular green was in existence by 1115; that it already covered most of the hill top by that time (so that the hospice had to be established on the outer edge of the settlement); and that its trading and central-place functions were already sufficiently well-developed for a hospice to be established. As to burgage tenure, it seems

58. Page, *op.cit.*, p.309.

59. Poulson, *op.cit.* pp. 170-76.

60. Beresford (1967), *op.cit.*

61. Farrar (1916), *op.cit.* p. 36; English (1979), *op.cit.* p. 213.

62. M. W. Beresford, English medieval boroughs: a hand list: revisions 1973-81', *Urban History Yearbook*, (1981) pp. 59-66.

most likely that this dates from the 1156x72-3 charter and the laying out of the first planned extension to the earliest settlement, burgage tenure being granted to all existing tenements as well as to the new plots.

One final suburban activity which can be noted is the pottery kilns, located at the southern end of the Magdalen Hill suburb beside the *hospitum*. The kilns are recorded several times in early documents and their memory survives in the field name 'Pottercroft'⁶³. Pottery manufacture here had been abandoned by the 13th century, but the excavations in the planned town have shown that pottery was an important industry in the town from its founding through to the mid-14th century. Pottery from the Hedon kilns has been found over a wide area of southern Yorkshire showing something of the trading links of the town at this time⁶⁴. It can be noted here too, that field names also indicate a tile manufactory in the south-west corner of the planned town, beside the Haven, and that the clay pit which probably supplied the raw material for both enterprises, as well as later brickmaking, lay at the western end of Market Hill (Fig. 4).

(d) *The port extension*: The plan evidence for the extension eastwards of the town is intimately bound up with the nature of the defences and waterways, but they are considered separately. What is clear is that early in the life of the town the harbour facilities of the Haven, around Sheriff Bridge, became inadequate and new port facilities were provided east of the town along the boundary of the planned unit. This long wharf frontage was known as The Fleet (Fig. 3C), the wharfage being on its east side. 14th century references to a dock suggest there might also have been an embrasure part way along. There is no evidence as to whether the land taken into the borough beyond The Fleet was ever laid out with streets and tenements since it was abandoned to pasture and orchards in the late medieval period. However, since the regular enclosures which survived the similar decline of the main planned town are not present in this eastern extension, the implication is that it was not sub-divided. The only features which can be firmly established from the documents are two streets, a church and the bridge over the Fleet. One street, Lighthousegate, ran north-south alongside the Fleet, the lighthouse presumably marking the abrupt right-angle turn where the Fleet joined the Haven (Fig. 4). The second street ran east-west from Fletchergate, in the planned town, to the new church. This chapel of St. Nicholas served the eastern extension and stood beside the outer defences of the town. The dedication emphasises the port nature of the extension, St. Nicholas being the patron saint of sailors⁶⁵.

The church is first specifically recorded in 1267 when permission was granted for an anchorite cell to be built in the churchyard. A churchyard suggests rights of burial and the late medieval rentals of the borough make frequent reference to the parish of St. Nicholas⁶⁶. These references suggest that the parish encompassed the area from the Fleet eastwards to the town ditch, and beyond to the borough boundary along Burstwick Old Fleet (Fig. 3C). However, the church is consistently referred to as a chapel; rights of presentation remained with the sub-Dean of York, as with the other Hedon churches, and such was its poverty that it had been demolished by c.1475⁶⁷.

The only other clearly documented properties in the rentals are a lime-kiln and several houses in Lighthousegate. The majority of the rents are for closes, selions, waste and pasture. The implication of the evidence is that this eastern extension was provided primarily to improve the harbour facilities of the town and that its land uses were

63. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.* p. 170 who nonetheless misplaces the field to the top of Magdalen Hill rather than the bottom.

64. Hayfield & Slater, *op.cit.*

65. F. Bond *Dedication of English churches*, London (1914).

66. Poulson (1841) *op.cit.*, *passim*.

67. *ibid*.

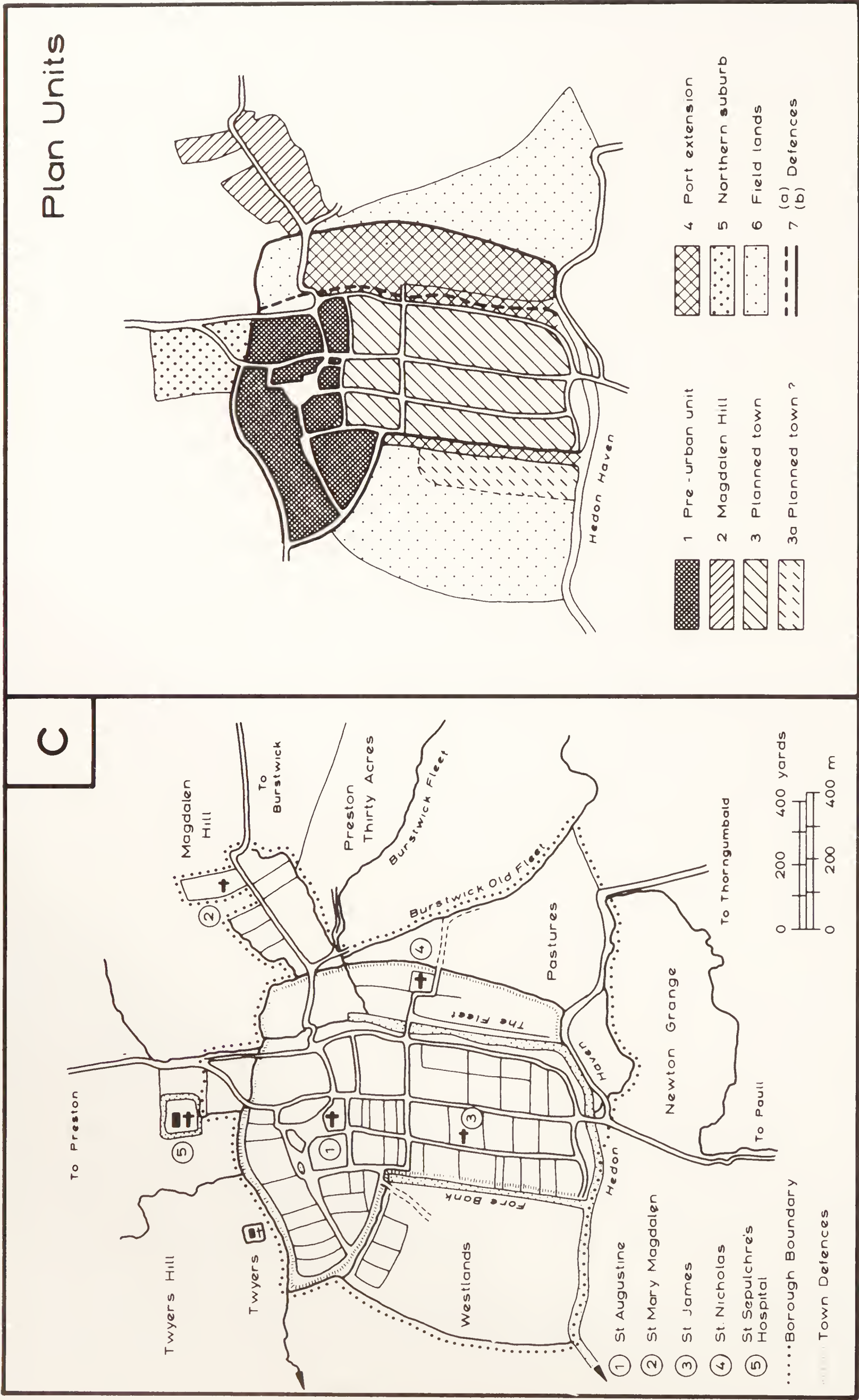


Fig. 3 The development of Hedon: C the harbour extension, D plan units.

industrial and commercial. It is documented late in the development of the town, when its economy was already in decline, but there is a dearth of early documentation and there seems no reason to suppose that the extension had not been developed by the early 13th century, and probably earlier still. It is perhaps worth noting that the extension took into the borough land which, if not in Preston, almost certainly lay in the township of Thorngumbald in Paull parish, not land from Burstwick parish as all the town histories maintain (Fig. 1).

(e) *The field lands*: There are two areas to the east and west of the town which seem always to have been pasture fields used for the grazing of the cattle, oxen and horses of the townspeople. The eastern fields lay between the defences and Burstwick Old Fleet which formed the borough boundary in this direction, while the western fields lay between Fore Bank and New Field. This Westlands pasture was vested in the Guild of the Holy Cross from the Incorporation of the borough in 1348 and there are no records of properties standing there. However, pre-19th century field boundaries recorded on Iveson's plan of 1804 suggest that the crofts along Westbriggate were similar to those on the south side of West Lane and that these latter might once have been occupied. In the same manner, closes on the west side of Fore Bank are of similar dimensions to the plots of the planned town. There is a possibility that the planned layout might once have extended further west, being served by a fourth north-south street on the site of Fore Bank, but the evidence is very slight and there is no documentation of anything other than pasture in the Westland area (Fig. 2B)⁶⁸.

(e) *Watercourses, harbours and defences*: The characteristics and evolution of the watercourses and defences of Hedon have engendered more misunderstanding than almost anything else, which is unfortunate as they are essential to a proper understanding of the development of the town. Mistakes are understandable, however, as the evolution of the drainage of southern Holderness is extremely complex, successive changes being imposed on the landscape over the whole historical period⁶⁹. Within the town, a large part of the network of watercourses is semi-natural and partly surrounded the pre-urban nucleus and the planned town. On the north side, the Reedmere dyke ran alongside Twyers Lane and on south-westwards to join the Haven 1/2 km below the town (Fig. 1). On the eastern side of the planned town, two dykes from Burstwick joined southwest of Magdalen Hill to become Hedon Fleet, while a minor ditch alongside the Preston road also joined at the same point, so that the whole eastern side of the town was bounded by a semi-natural waterway. Just above Sheriffbridge a third dyke, which divided Newton and Thorngumbald townships, joined The Fleet which thereafter becomes Hedon Haven and flows along the southern boundary of the borough (Figs. 1 and 3C).

The waterways have been described rather than named since the names have engendered as much confusion as the routes of these drainage channels. However, it can be ascertained with some certainty that the waterway which was to mark the eastern boundary of the borough was called Scurth Dyke for much of its length to Burstwick or, alternatively, Burstwick Old Fleet, while the other dyke to Burstwick was Burstwick New Fleet, or Humbleton Beck. The sinuosity of the western bank of The Fleet suggests its semi-natural origin while the planned new town would almost certainly have been protected from flooding by earthen embankments along the line of the Fleet—hence the parallel sinuosity of Baxtergate and Woodmarketgate in the street layout (Fig. 4).

Other than the deepening, scouring and embanking of these semi-natural dykes to improve inland transport, which was almost certainly going on during Hedon's pre-urban phase, the first addition to this drainage network was probably the digging of the ditch which runs along the northern edge of the town from Wychcroft, across the

68. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.*

69. Sheppard (1966), *op.cit.*

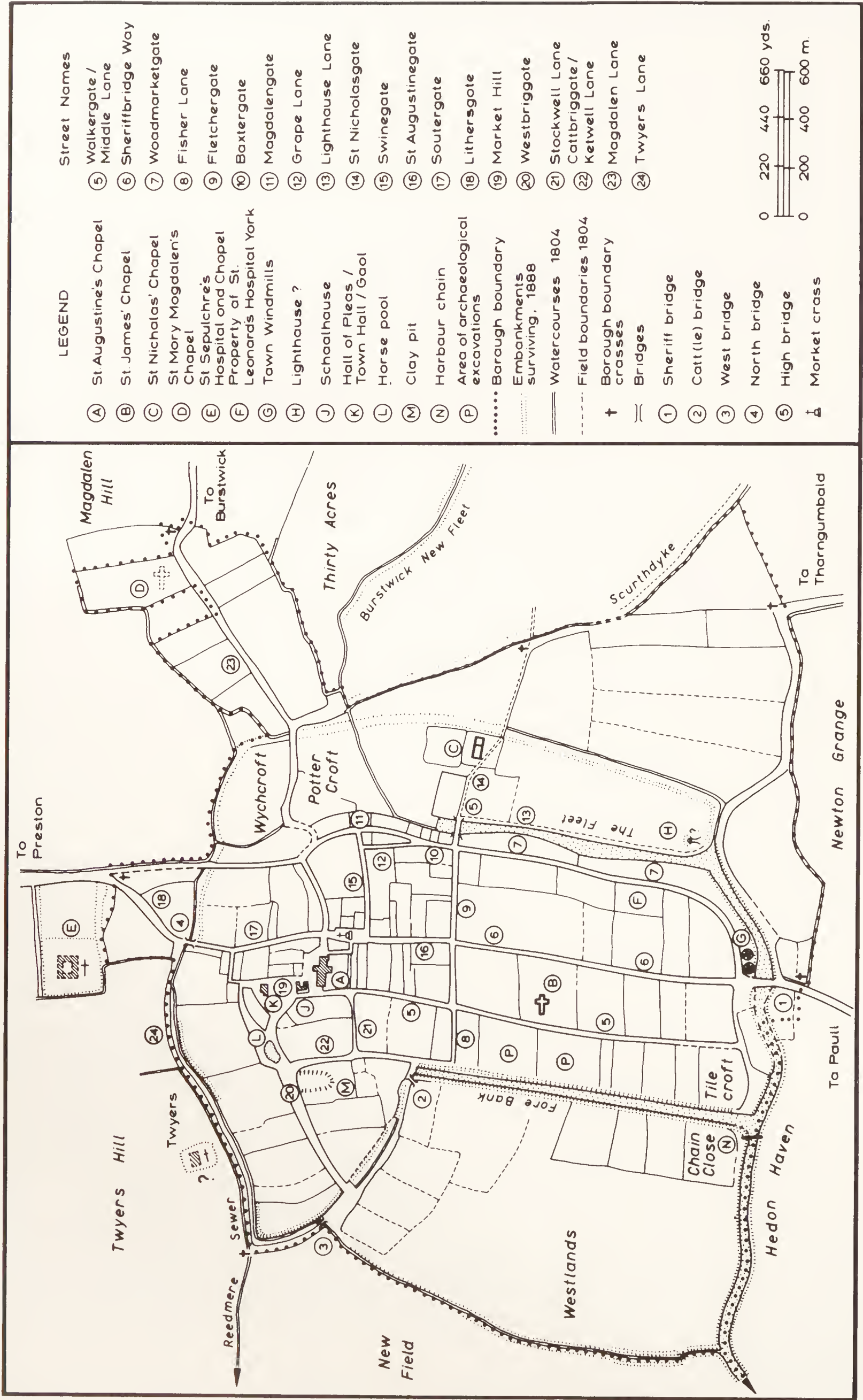


Fig. 4 Medieval and early modern elements in the town plan of Hedon.

Preston road, along the southern side of Twyers Lane and down the western edge of Westlands. This additional dyke is presumably contemporary with the planned town and thus of mid-12th century origin. It left Twyers Lane embanked between itself and the Reedmere dyke forming a substantial barrier along the northern fringe of the town. It also left the town completely surrounded by a system of water-filled dykes with fringing embankments. The southern and eastern sides of this system were navigable, the western and northern sides were concerned only with drainage and perhaps defence.

The next development saw the widening of The Fleet and the provision of wharfage on its eastern side. The conversion of this part of the dykes to more intensive commercial use necessitated the digging of a new and wholly artificial ditch with an internal embankment to enclose the St. Nicholas area. This defensive ditch extension is Beresford's 'eastern haven'⁷⁰. He and earlier historians, as well as the Ordnance Survey, mistook the defences for another harbour (Fig. 3C). The two watercourses east of the new defences, known as Burstwick Old and New Fleets, were both important navigable waterways in the medieval period and Hedon Fleet was thus not just an enclosed dock area but a through channel. The great survey of the waterways of Holderness, made in 1367⁷¹, describes the Burstwick Fleets as being 18 feet wide and six feet deep and 20 feet wide by 10 feet deep respectively, while Hedon Haven was 30 feet wide and 12 feet deep.

The Fleet was still an important wharf area in the 14th century and there are numerous references of its use in the Corporation records, particularly for unloading timber for repairing corporation property, bridges and the tumbrel, as well as for repairs to the various town churches⁷². Timber was clearly an important item in the local trade of the town since the road that parallels the west side of The Fleet is called Woodmarketgate from its earliest designation. The accounts often note that the timber was brought in from Hull so that this trade was at least regional and may well have been a function of the growing trade links being established across the North Sea.

The last remaining element, the so-called Far or Fore Bank (Fig. 3C), is also the most difficult to interpret. Some historians have suggested that it, too, is a harbour⁷³, others that it is purely a defensive element⁷⁴. Whichever, it is certainly wholly artificial in that both banks are perfectly straight and it encloses the western side of the town. If its purpose was for defence or drainage it is notably wider than the remaining circuit of ditches. By the 15th century its entrance had been sealed, except for a sluice gate, and it became 'the great ditch of the town'⁷⁵. By that time it had thus been adapted for defensive and drainage purposes. This would explain the greater height of the eastern bank observed by Craven, since extra flood prevention measures would almost certainly have been necessary in the later medieval period⁷⁶.

One piece of evidence indicates conclusively that this western haven was originally intended as a harbour. That evidence is the harbour chain, noticed, but misplaced and misinterpreted by successive historians. Hedon was one of those ports whose harbour facilities were protected during the hours of darkness by a chain slung across the river. There was a similar chain across the Hull at Kingston, and in southern England there were defensive chains across the harbours at Portsmouth, Dartmouth and Fowey⁷⁷. The field west of the entrance to the western haven is known as 'Chain Close' (Fig. 4). If the western haven had been intended as a defensive work from its beginning then the chain

70. Beresford (1957), *op.cit.*

71. Poulson (1841), *op.cit.* Vol. I p. 122.

72. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.*, p. 32-7.

73. Beresford (1957), *op.cit.*

74. Craven, *op.cit.*

75. References are collected in both Boyle (1895), and Craven (1972) *op.cit.*

76. Sheppard (1966) *op.cit.*

77. Poulson (1841), *op.cit.*

should logically have been on its eastern, not its western side. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the western haven was originally intended as a dock. As such it is probably contemporary with, or followed after, the improvement of The Fleet to the east of the town.

If the supposition advanced earlier is correct, and the making of the western haven obliterated a north-south street and some urban properties, then its construction may well have been quite late in the developmental history of the town when it was already beginning to decline and the planned element was being abandoned. If this seems illogical, one has only to look at the history of harbour developments in small port towns in the 19th century. Many such towns built new docks in times of decline in a desperate attempt to regenerate their port function, yet these docks were hardly used subsequently. Such supposition is perhaps advanced with the knowledge that the chain was provided as late as 1345, when 17 stones of Spanish iron was brought from Hull for the purpose at a cost of 6s 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d⁷⁸, yet by 1390 the herbage of what was now called 'the town ditch' was being let and there is no sign of port activity.

The western haven of Fore Bank, unlike The Fleet, is not well documented in the surviving Corporation records, which extend irregularly from the early 14th century onwards. Indeed it is difficult to present even a single reference to the use of its wharves. It may be that it was known as part of the Haven, so that references to it are not distinguishable from those referring to the river bank along the south of the town, which was the most important harbour area. However, it is more likely that the Fore Bank haven had already become disused through silting by the later medieval period. The references to sluices at its entrance then make more sense, as do the frequent references to the rents of pastures along its banks. Similarly, this helps to explain the abandonment of the burgage properties along its eastern side by the later 14th century, evidenced by the archaeological excavations. It would seem therefore that this western haven was in use for only a relatively short period after construction, probably less than a century, and that it then functioned as part of the great drainage ditch about the town. By the time of Leland's visit to Hedon the harbours were silted and overgrown while even the Haven was 'sorely decayed'⁷⁹. The long period of decay, however, undoubtedly overshadows a short period of great prosperity in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The much-quoted list of port dues for 1203-05 has been used to demonstrate that Hedon was already greatly over-shadowed by Hull and Grimsby in the Humber estuary. That is true, but it must also be remembered that it was the eleventh-ranked port of the Kingdom, paying a higher tax than towns such as Yarmouth, Dover or Ipswich⁸⁰. It was the greater size of sea-going ships, the development of the town and harbour at Ravenserod by the Aumales in the 13th century, and their insistence on continuing to tallage Hedon, that led to the rapid decline of the town and its harbours from c. 1220 until it found a new and lesser role as an ordinary market town serving the southern half of Holderness.

Conclusion

This detailed analysis of the town plan of Hedon has suggested that the existing interpretations of the topographical development of the town are seriously amiss in a number of respects. First it has proposed that a pre-existing hamlet was developed by the counts of Aumale into the town of Hedon and that this was not a totally 'green-field' site. This hamlet was already in existence by the late eleventh century and its urban and port functions were probably established by the first decades of the twelfth century. By 1138x43 the town had been greatly extended with an area of planned burgages to the

78. Boyle (1895), *op.cit.* p. 37.

79. L. Toulmin-Smith, *The itinerary of John Leland 1535-1543*, London (1907), I p. 67.

80. Pipe Roll, 1204 *Pipe Roll Society N.S.* 18, (1940) pp. xliii-xliv, 218.

south. A second chapel served this area and it was defended by a water-filled ditch on all sides. Second, the historical evidence, used sensitively in combination with the town plan, has shown clearly that development of the town as a planned entity was already well underway before this development was given legal status by means of a borough charter. Third, it has been possible to demonstrate that the basic planning module used in laying out the burgages of the planned part of the town was the statute acre in dimensions of 20x8 perches or 20x4 perches and to show that the street system is properly classified as within the category of 'parallel street', rather than 'grid plan'. Fourth, it has shown that the town was extended eastward fairly soon afterwards; that a third chapel was provided for this area and a new ditch dug to enclose it within the defences, but that the main function was to improve the harbour facilities of the town. Fifth, it has been shown that the dock system, though not as extensive as hypothesized by some historians, is nonetheless a remarkable example of medieval port development and it must be regretted that almost all of it has been so recently destroyed, and that the archaeological opportunity to excavate a section of the western haven was missed.

Finally, the analysis has added to the small body of studies of medieval town plans another example of a plan which, while superficially 'simple' in its origin and development, has proved on more detailed investigation to be of considerable complexity. The 'unravelling' of this complexity is of relevance in understanding both the historical development of Hedon as a town, since it provides evidence that is not available from other sources, and also in understanding the physical characteristics of medieval towns more generally since it has added to the present limited body of plan studies available for comparative study.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr. Colin Hayfield for first putting a plan of Hedon in front of me and for much discussion and help thereafter. My colleagues, Dr. J. W. R. Whitehand and Dr. P. J. Jarvis considerably improved an earlier draft of the text with their comments: Dr. B. A. English, Mr. M. J. Markham, Dr. A. Harris and Dr. D. Palliser have all been kind enough to comment upon the text and share their more detailed local knowledge with me, and I am especially grateful to Dr. K. J. Allison both for detailed criticism and for providing a copy of the Victoria County History text in advance of publication. Mrs. Jean Dowling drew the fair copy maps.

TWO MEDIEVAL SITES IN YARM

By D. H. EVANS AND D. H. HESLOP

Introduction

The market town of Yarm is situated in a bend of the River Tees, about 5 miles upstream from Stockton-on-Tees, Cleveland (fig. 1), and is built on clay and loams, overlying Keuper marls.¹ The earliest documentary record of settlement here occurs in Domesday Book², although there are indications of earlier activity which suggest a pre-Conquest settlement³. It became part of the Brus fee, and had certainly acquired the status of a mesne borough by 1273⁴—although a reference to a burgess of Yarm in 1226 may indicate that this had taken place at a much earlier date⁵. A bridge is first recorded here in 1305⁶, although Yarm was obviously important as a fording point on the river much before this. A minor medieval port, it served as a wool-trading centre for the hinterland, and had extensive trading connections with other East Coast ports, France, the Low Countries, and Italy.

The medieval street pattern is still preserved in the present town centre (fig. 2). Its two principal axes were the north-south routes, the High Street and West Street; these were linked by a number of cross streets which are referred to in the surviving medieval records as Kyrkewend, le Crosswende, Chaumpnayswend, Backehousewend and Flapper Street (Bridge Street). The area to the east of the High Street backed onto the wharves and warehouses of the medieval waterfront.

The Norman church of St. Mary Magdalene lies on West Street, and presumably indicates the focus of early settlement. Although references to West Street as such do not occur before the early 14th century⁷, there are records of houses on the north side of the church before 1220⁸, and it is clear from other references that both the High Street and West Street frontages had been divided into plots and at least sporadically built up by this date. There was also some settlement along the wynds connecting the High Street and West Street, although it is difficult to assess how far this extended in depth: very few of the deeds give the dimensions of the plots⁹, and the picture is complicated by reference to topographical features such as the Hovedike, which are now largely lost.

By 1700 West Street had declined to a 'backstreet'¹⁰, and in 1837 the Tithe Map and Award recorded less than half-a-dozen properties still occupied there—the rest were shown as orchards and gardens¹¹.

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1. Page, W. (ed.), *Victoria County History: Yorkshire, North Riding II* (1923), 319-26; Wardell, J. W., *A History of Yarm*, (Stockton-on-Tees, 1957).
 2. Page, W. (ed.), *V.C.H., County of York II*, (1912), 203.
 3. There are fragments of a pre-Conquest cross-shaft and a tegulated coped stone from the church, and a pagan Saxon burial urn from the vicinity of Yarm; Meaney, A., *A gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites*, (1964), 303.
 4. *Cal. Close Rolls, Edw. I 1272-79*, H.M.S.O. (1900), 46.
 5. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum II*, Record Commission (1844), 163.
 6. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-7*, H.M.S.O. (1898), 389.
 7. e.g. *Cal. Charter Rolls III, 1300-26*, H.M.S.O. (1908), 159; this is for 1310, but there are several other charters, not precisely dated, which are about this date.
 8. Brown, W. (ed.), *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne II*, Surtees Soc. LXXXIX (1894), 44; this is dated between 1211 and 1219.
 9. e.g. Wombwell Papers: unpublished manuscript in the North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, class ZDV I 7/3 (all subsequent reference to documents in the record office, are prefixed N.Y.R.O., followed by the document class number).
 10. N.Y.R.O., ZIQ Deeds Box 4, nos 28-9.
 11. N.Y.R.O., Tithe Map and Award.

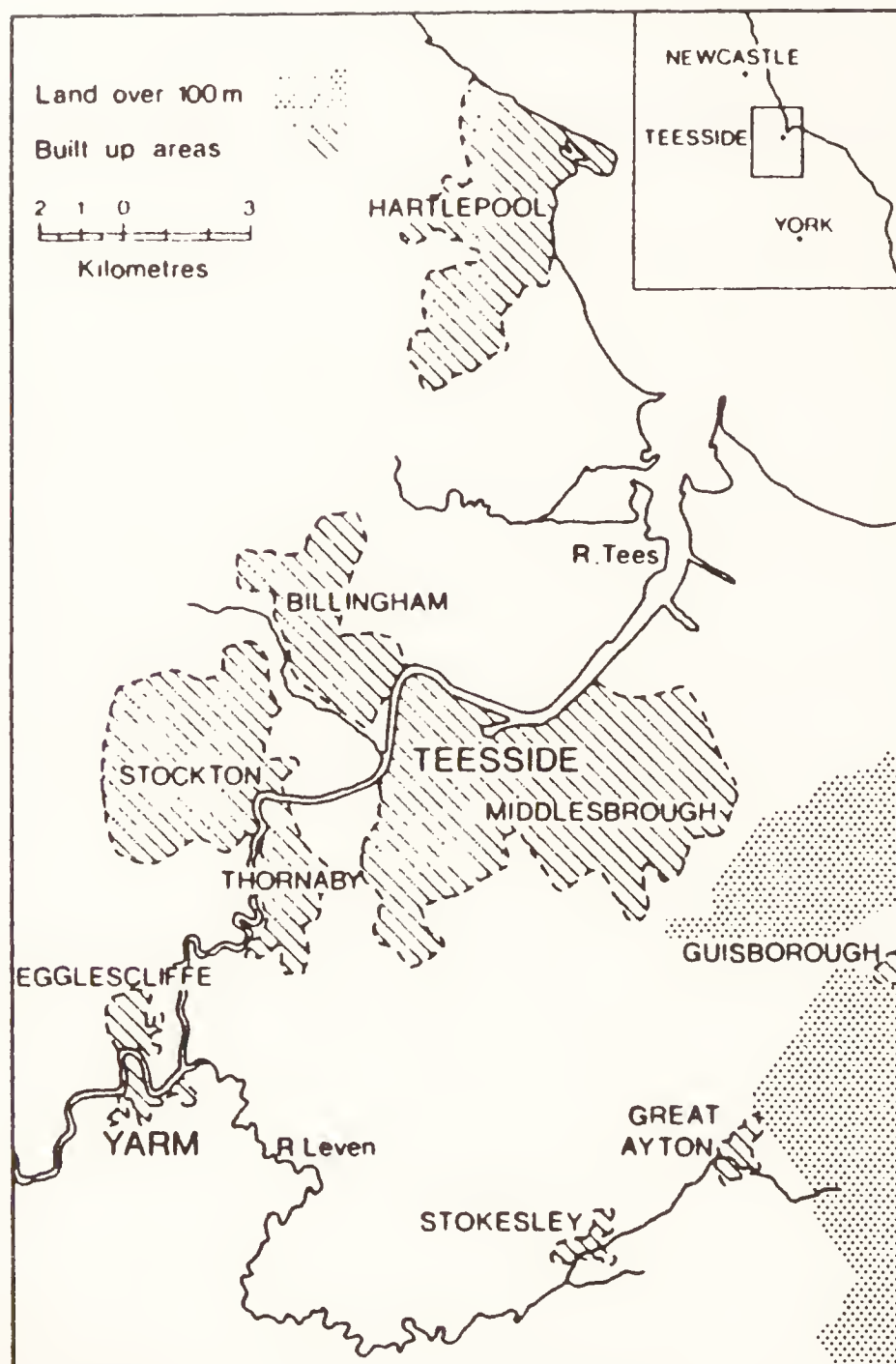


Fig. 1. Location map

The present accounts relate to two excavations which were undertaken for Cleveland County Council on West Street and the High Street. In both cases the primary purpose was to investigate the evidence, if any, for early settlement, and the growth and development of the town. Full level III reports for both excavations are held with the site archives and finds by the Cleveland County Archaeology Section. The finds reports are presented at the end of this paper.

EXCAVATIONS IN WEST STREET, 1977

By D. H. Evans

The Site NZ 4169 1298 (fig. 2)

This was situated at the junction of West Street and Lower Church Wynd. Excavation was prompted by an application to build a house at the west end of the property; at the time of writing this development has still not taken place. The excavation was undertaken for Cleveland County Council's Department of Leisure and Amenities by a team funded by the Manpower Services Commission, and with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment. This particular plot had been an orchard certainly

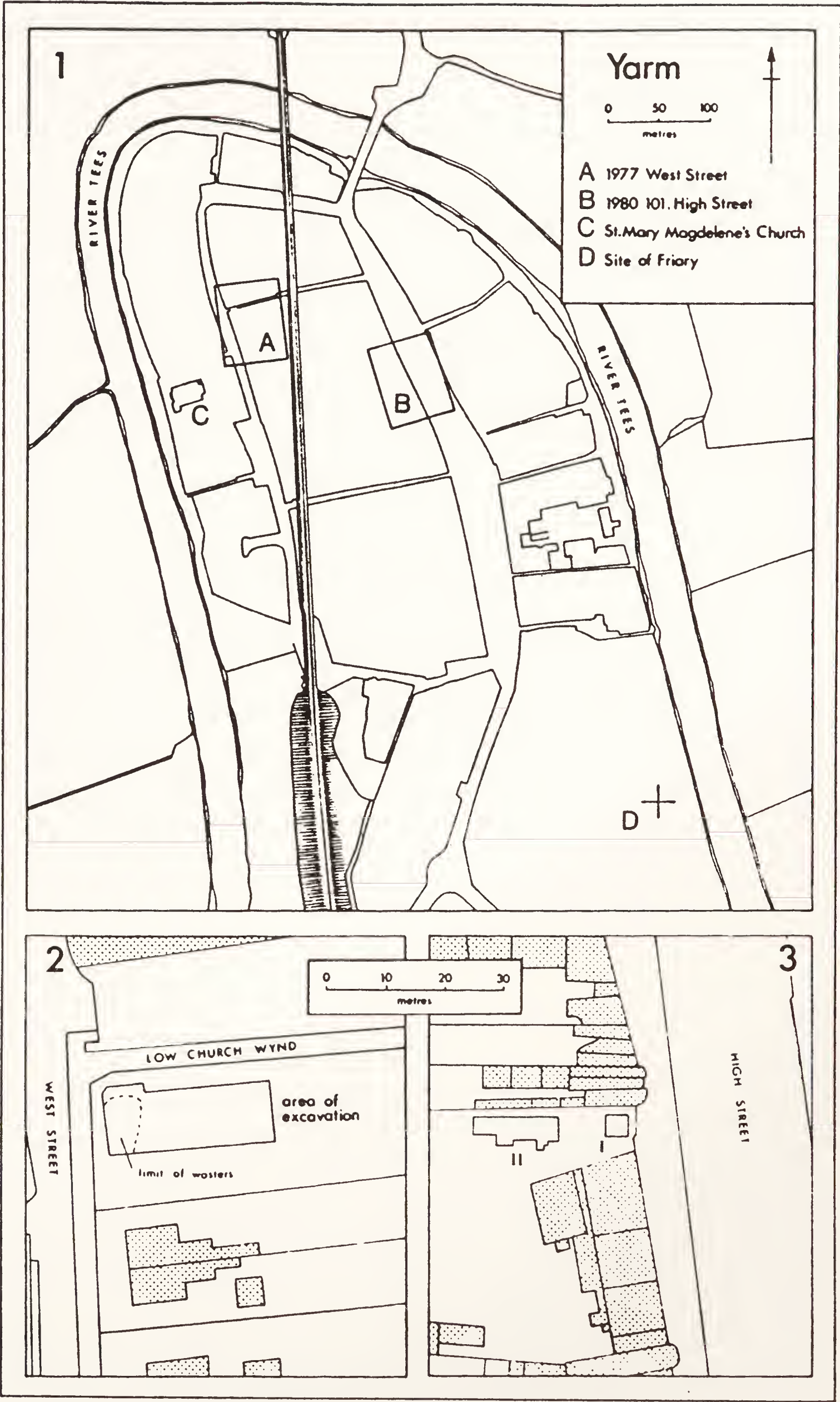


Fig. 2. The medieval borough of Yarm, and the location of the two excavations.

since the turn of the century, and possibly since the first half of the 19th century—for in 1837 it was owned by Francis Loughend, and was listed as an orchard and garden in the tenancy of William Doughty¹². In an earlier rental of 1812, Sam Doughty is listed as renting a house and garden in Church Wynd, and William Doughty in the adjacent property as renting a garden ‘back walled round’ of a clear annual value of £6¹³.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank the landowners, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson for permission to excavate, their assistance in the process, and their donation of the finds to Cleveland County Council. I am indebted to all of the people who worked on the site, and especially to the site assistants, Dick Malt and Bob Western, and the site photographer, Ron Marsden. I should also like to thank my former colleagues on the staff of the County Council for their invaluable support and advice; also to John Barrett and Gil Crawford for much useful criticism during the excavation, and to Blaise Vyner for his assistance in post-excavation work. The drawings are variously the work of Dave Heslop, Dick Malt, Howard Mason, Pam Watkinson, Martin Creasey, Phillip Judge and the author. Dr. Stuart Wrathmell kindly read and commented on an early draft of this report; any faults which remain are entirely my own.

Methods of Excavation

The site was still covered with trees and scrub when work began. The use of machinery was ruled out because of a conservation order on the boundary wall which could not be taken down until building was about to begin; therefore, all clearance had to be done by hand. The area available for excavation was restricted on the north and south sides by mature trees, and on the west by the afore-mentioned wall; these effectively prevented the examination of the whole frontage.

An area measuring 25 x 9m was opened up at the west end of the garden. A metre of overburden was removed to reveal a dirty yellow clay subsoil and the bottoms of various 19th century garden trenches. Most of the frontage was covered by a waster-heap of pantiles (fig. 2 and see below). This had effectively sealed the frontage and protected most of it from subsequent damage. Excavation beneath it revealed three main phases of building. Large numbers of pits were found in the yard behind the frontage; however, as it has not always been possible to relate these to individual buildings with any certainty, they are discussed separately.

The Excavation (figs. 3-6; pls. 1-4)

Phase I (fig. 3)

The Frontage (pl. 1).

The earliest structure was an aisled building of three or more bays running parallel to the street; some 6m of its length was exposed, but it appears to have continued underneath the south baulk. Its aisles are represented by three pairs of post-pits (100, 96, 99, 91, 80 and 92) which ranged in depth from 0.35m to 0.48m; post-pipes of 0.2m to 0.3m in diameter survived in all but pit 99 (fig. 6). The spacing of these posts suggests that the bays would have been c. 2.25m wide, and between 2m and 2.5m long. Presumably associated were two posts (79 and 98) on the centre line of the building; their function is unclear. No hearth or floor surfaces were found—although the former may lie in the unexcavated part of the building.

The life-span of this structure is uncertain, but several of the posts have been replaced. Two of the main aisle post-pits (91 and 92) were recut by posts 78 and 81—one of these,

12. *Ibid.*

13. Valuation of Sir George Wombwell's Estates in Yarm: N.Y.R.O. ZIQ.

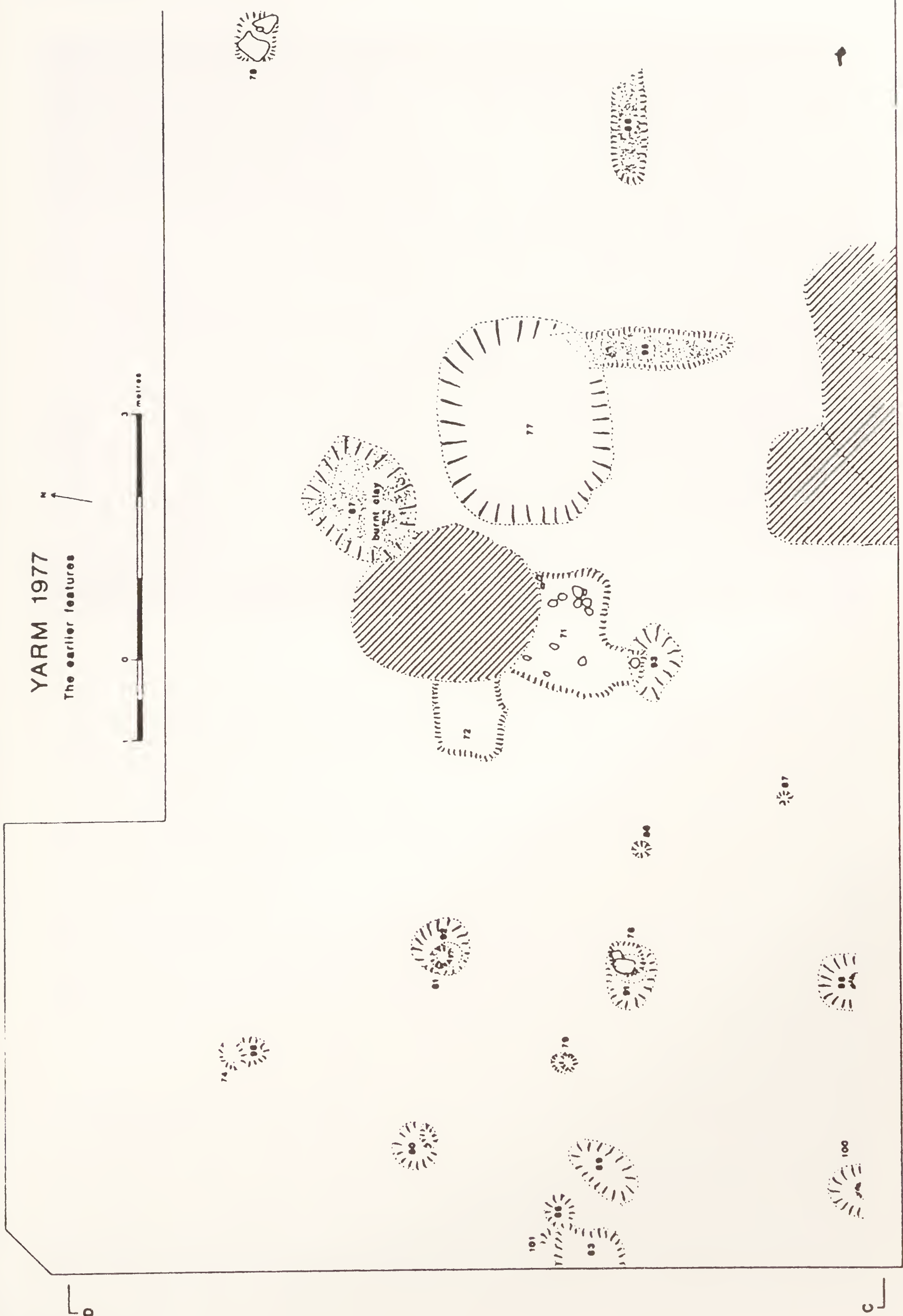




Plate 1. The Phase I frontage from the south.



Plate 2. The later frontages from the south.

now being stone lined (78). One of the centre-line posts (98) was recut by post 74. On the west side of the building, an early post-pit, 101 (fig. 5, west baulk section) was recut twice—on its south by an irregular post-pit (83), and on the east by post 85; their function is unclear, but they might be associated with an entrance, the rest of which lies further west.

Almost all of these features produced fragments of charcoal and bone, but the only pottery associated is of such fragmentary nature that it is not susceptible to very close dating.

The yard

An outbuilding is represented by two charcoal-filled slots (95 and 88) which lay to the west of the frontage building (fig. 6). One of these slots produced a cut half-penny of the reign of Stephen, and was perhaps deposited between 1141 and 1152 (slot 95). It was not possible to trace the full extent of this outbuilding, because much of this area had been heavily disturbed by later features; it is also not possible to state with certainty whether it is contemporary with the aisled structure on the frontage or represents some earlier activity.

The nature of the charcoal fill of these beam slots suggests that its use terminated in a fire. If it was industrial, it may have been related to a small metal-working hearth (97) to the north-west, comprising an oval patch of heavily burnt clay, *c.* 0.4 x 0.6m in extent; although no slag was directly associated with this hearth, at least two pottery bases lined with slag and fused sand were found elsewhere on the site.

A number of other pits and scoops (86-87, 93, 75 and 77) have been assigned to this phase because they clearly precede the Phase II platforming on the frontage. The largest of these (77) was probably an extraction pit for marl, as its fill was very clean and almost devoid of finds (fig. 6); as it cut slot 95, it is clearly later than the outbuilding.



Plate 3. Post-pit 31 from the east.

Phase II (fig. 4)

The frontage (pl. 2)

Certainly by the beginning of the 13th century the Phase I aisled building had gone out of use, and the level of the frontage was raised by the construction of a clay platform (14) on the same alignment. It comprised a dump of clean compacted yellow clay up to 0.7m deep; as with the earlier building, it continued underneath the south baulk. The clay was probably brought onto the site from the vicinity of the river, and incorporated a Neolithic polished stone axe-head; most of the deep extraction pits in the yard were cut into an undisturbed gley, and would have produced blue indurated or heavily iron-stained clay—none of which was observed in the platform.

A few blocks of roughly dressed sandstone laid on the platform suggest that the new structure had stone footings; however, as these have been almost completely removed by later robbing or dismantling, little can be said about the plan of this or any subsequent building on the frontage. The only internal feature to survive was a well-made stone hearth, set into the top of the platform, close to the west baulk (pl. 2). It was composed of a number of heavily burnt flat sandstone slabs, and measured c. 1m x 1.2m in extent.

The pit groups in the yard show that occupation certainly continued into the late medieval period, and it is probable that the building was rebuilt—possibly on a number of occasions; however, next to no trace of this survives in the archaeological record. The one thing which is clear is that at no time did any building or outshot extend back into the yard; this in itself implies that there was never any great pressure on housing space in this part of Yarm during this Phase.

The latest feature on the frontage in this Phase is a stone-lined post-hole, 31 (pl. 3 and fig. 6), which sealed a small fragment of a clay-pipe bowl. Whilst it is uncertain whether this relates to a building on the frontage during the 17th century, it is clearly stratigraphically earlier than the Phase III fence which cuts it (fig. 5, west baulk section). Also clearly belonging to this Phase are posts 51-52, 49 and 26; the last was stone-lined, and two of the others (52 and 49) are cut by later (? replacement) posts (27 and 31).



Plate 4. Well 55 during excavation, from the south.

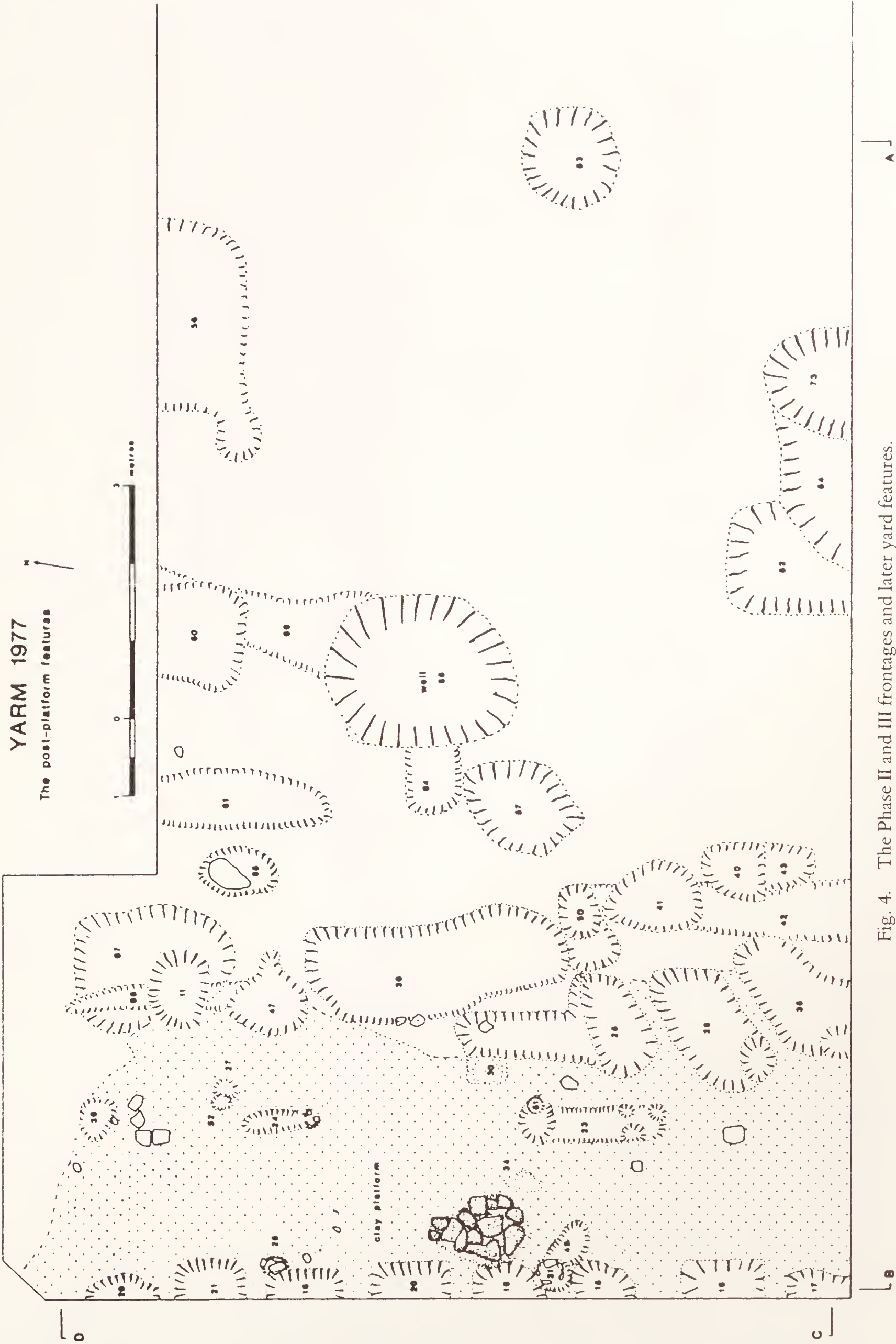
The yard

Associated with the construction of the clay platform was a layer of dirty yellow-brown clay (layer 1b), which appeared to cover most of the western half of the site, and sealed the underlying clay subsoil (layer 1c). Some of this layer doubtless derived from the platform settling and slowly slumping outwards (fig. 5, south baulk section); but some of it has obviously been augmented by silting, and perhaps by cultivation. The main structural event in this area was the digging of a well (55), and of a series of cess-pits, the earliest of which is possibly of 13th/14th century date.

The well was at least 2.4m deep and entirely clay-cut; no trace of any lining, whether timber or stone was found. No trace of any well-head structures was found around its top, although various scoops around it (e.g. 71-72) may have been associated with it. By the late 14th or early 15th century it appears to have either dried up, or gone sour, because it was deliberately infilled with domestic rubbish. The sequence of tipping alternate spreads of rubbish interspersed with layers of clayey soil (pl. 4 and fig. 6) can be matched in the cess-pits to the south.

On the southern edge of the area were three intercutting deep steep-sided rubbish-pits (fig. 5, south baulk section). The earliest of these was a rectangular unlined cess-pit (82); this was subsequently recut and enlarged by pit 84, which in turn was cut by pit 73. All were characterised by alternate spreads of charcoal-rich organic waste and household detritus, interspersed with layers of dirty clay.

A number of scoops and depressions elsewhere in the yard have fairly clean fills (e.g. 53, fig. 6) and probably represent extraction scoops for marl (50, 57, 54, 67-69, 58, 60-61, 56 and 53). Apart from the afore-mentioned cess-pits there appear to be no rubbish-pits in the area examined during this Phase. The almost total absence of early post-medieval pottery types, and particularly of Raeren stonewares (a ubiquitous type fossil on East Coast sites) points to the early advent of night soil collection in this part of the town; moreover, the paucity of iron-work on the site suggests that much of the household rubbish was finding its way onto the town fields at a much earlier date.



YARM 1977

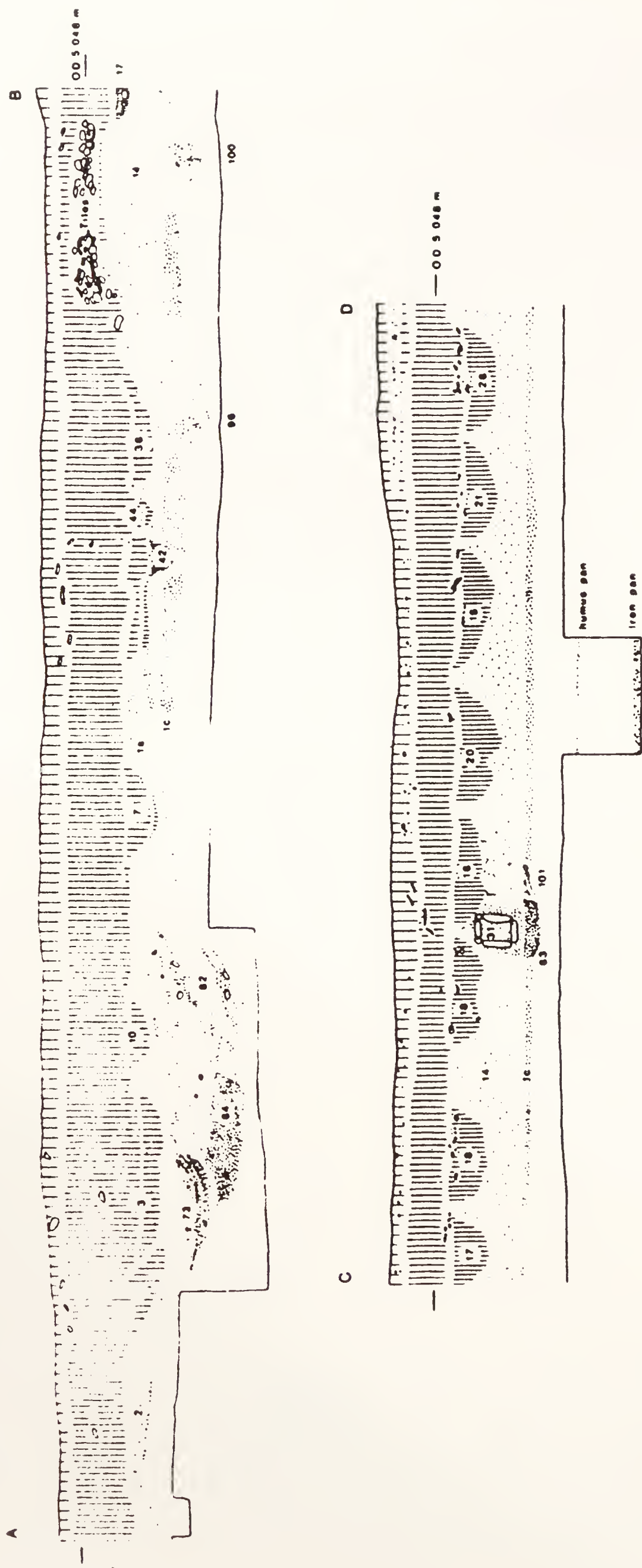


Fig. 5. The east-west and north-south baulk sections.

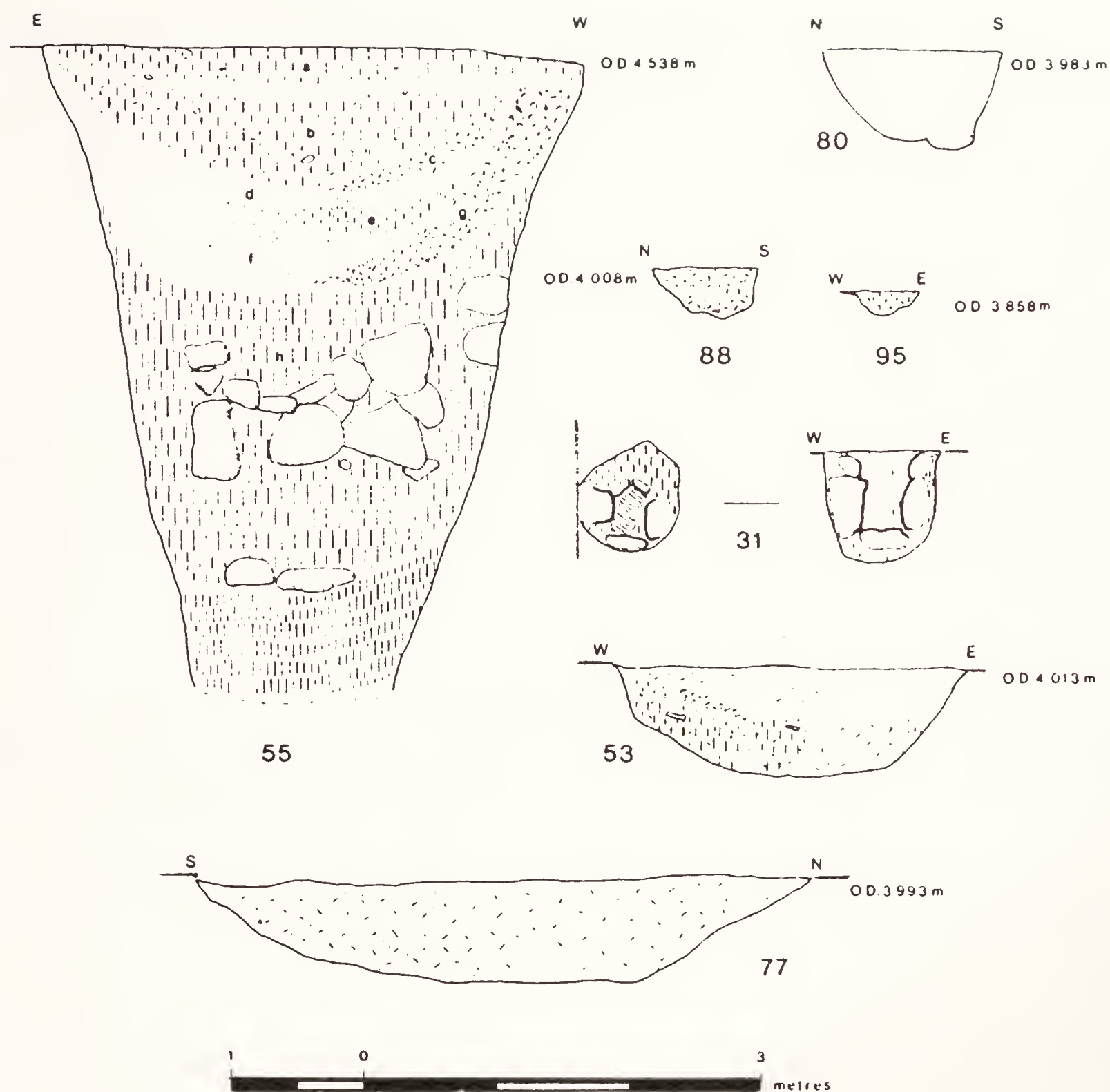


Fig. 6. Sections.

Phase III (fig. 4)

The frontage (pl. 2)

As noted above, West Street had declined to a 'backstreet' by 1700. This appears to be reflected in the abandonment of this particular plot. The principal feature in this Phase is the construction of a new fence on the line of the earlier building(s). This is represented by a row of eight post-pits (15-21 and 28), spaced at metre intervals along the west side of the platform (pl. 2, and fig. 5, west baulk section). No post-pipes remain *in situ*, and the shape of the pits and the nature of their fills strongly suggest that the posts have been subsequently dug out. The finds from these pits included one or two fragments of Metropolitan slipware and several clay-pipe stems, and are consistent with a later 17th— or early 18th—century date.

A number of irregular depressions and pits cut into the Phase II platform or lying immediately to the east may be associated with the early part of this Phase (23-25, 38, 29, 36, 47, 11 and 39). All had similar fills to those of the fence pits, and contained fragments of brick and the occasional clay-pipe stem.

All of these were sealed by the waster-heap of pantiles (fig. 2). Several of the tiles had been fused together, and most displayed signs of warping, cracking and sagging; they

appear to have been stacked vertically, one inside another. Although no trace of a kiln or its furniture were found, it would probably have been at no great distance. The 1812 rental cited above, lists John Flounders as renting a roofery which was of 'bad back build' and was valued at £100 per year¹⁴. In 1837 a Benjamin Flounders was the owner and tenant of the property immediately to the north of the site, on the other side of Lower Church Wynd¹⁵.

The yard

A layer of dirty yellow-brown clay (1a) covered the whole site, and sealed the Phase II features (fig. 5). It presumably represents a period of silting after the frontage was abandoned, and is either contemporary with or predates the Phase III fence on the frontage. A number of scoops cut into this can be assigned to this phase (40-43); once again, their clean fills suggest that these are extraction scoops for marl.

Nineteenth-century activity is represented mainly by garden trenches and a solitary rubbish-pit (46) in the north-west corner of the site. The large quantity of topsoil found covering the site seems somewhat excessive, and it seems probable that some of this derives from the sale of soil following the construction of the railway viaduct in 1849; if this is the case, most of the finds in this topsoil (layer 0) probably derive from the occupation of other tenements in Yarm.

Discussion

Although there are few finds associated with the Phase 1 aisled building on the frontage, a *terminus ante quem* for its occupation is provided by the construction of the Phase II clay platform, for which an early 13th-century date has been suggested. Its form of construction can certainly be paralleled in other 12th-century contexts¹⁶, and given that several of the posts have been renewed, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this building was contemporary in use with the outbuilding in the yard in the first half of the 12th century. The small quantities of domestic rubbish associated with this Phase imply that the bulk of material was being deposited somewhere else—perhaps on the town fields.

The raising of the level of the frontage at the beginning of Phase II probably reflects the fact that the street level had gradually risen with continual repairs; the builder would thus be faced with the choice of either raising his own frontage, or building steps up onto the road. The form of the new building is uncertain, but there is a suggestion that it may have been set on stone sills. In the early post-medieval buildings in the town this form of construction is associated with brick superstructures, but it is possible that earlier buildings may have been half-timbered. There appear to have been some changes in depositional practices on the tenement during the early part of this Phase, because much more rubbish is now found scattered across the yard, and cess-pits appear for the first time; however, by the end of the 15th century there seems to have been a reversion to the practice of carting rubbish away from the tenement. Thereafter, it becomes difficult to assess when owner/occupation ceased—although a handful of finds and features point to some sort of activity continuing on this tenement into the 17th century.

The construction of the Phase II fence in the later 17th or early 18th century clearly signals the end of this tenement's residential use, and its transformation to the status of a garden. The new boundary was either set further back from the road than were the previous frontage lines, or the road had now been widened and had encroached upon the property.

14. *Ibid.* This is a marginal notation against an entry for a house and garden in Flappergate, and two dwellings.

15. *Loc. cit.*, note 11.

16. Smith, J. T., 'Medieval Aisled Halls and their derivatives', *Arch. J.* CXII (1955), 76-94.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE HIGH STREET, 1980

By D. H. Heslop

The Site NZ 4184 1293 (fig. 2)

Number 101 is situated on the western side of the High Street, the main thoroughfare of the town, approximately 170m south of Bishop Skirlaw's bridge, that is, approximately a third of the way down the High Street from the north.

The excavation followed the architectural study of the standing jeweller's shop, a rather humble Georgian building and one of the very few two storied frontages of the eighteenth century High Street. Excavation was funded by the Manpower Services Commission and Cleveland County Council and took place in March and April 1980. Only ten days were available to excavate the frontage (trench I) below the shop, a restriction which led to the particular investigation of the metallurgical activity which was clearly defined, restricted in extent and easily linked with the sequence recovered from trench II at the rear of the site.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the landowner, Mr. T. Swan for permission to excavate and the developing contractor R. C. Ayres Ltd., for help and co-operation during their busy programme. Hugh Jones assisted with the excavation and David Larkman surveyed the standing structures. Thanks are extended to the specialists for their contributions and to the staff of Leisure Services, notably Janet Baker for documentary research, Wendy Thompson and Louise Hayhow for clerical and illustrative assistance, Robin Daniels for comments on historical aspects and Blaise Vyner for much help at all stages of the project. Dave Evans read the draft report and make many helpful comments. The finds reports are contained in pages 68-77 of this volume; the excavation archive is retained in Cleveland County Archaeology Section.

The Excavation

Fig. 2 shows the position of the two trenches excavated in 1980, the first (I) placed on the frontage, the second (II) placed some 13 metres to the rear. Trench I was 3.5m square, while trench II was 9.5 by 4.5m.

Phase I

The earliest recorded activity was a series of dark grey/brown layers. These were not fully excavated apart from one rubbish pit, 147, and six stakeholes, four of which may have formed a partition (fig. 7, 1). These features were cut into levels resembling garden soil and represented domestic activity to the rear of a structure (not located) occupying the High Street frontage. The pottery is compatible with a 12th or 13th century date. Time did not permit the excavation of earlier waterlogged deposits.

Phase 2

This period saw the recutting of 147 (121) and the deposition of further garden deposits, (fig. 7, 2) divided by a widely spaced fence, on the same alignment as the present tenement boundaries.

Phase 3

Large quantities of metallurgical debris were subsequently deposited over the dark grey loam; these were apparently derived from industrial activity located on the frontage (figs. 7, 3; 8).

Two main installations were recorded during the 10 days available for excavation on the High Street frontage. The eastern area was dominated by thick bands of oxidized clay which, when excavated, resolved into a bowl shape, the centre of which contained the most intensely oxidized clay. This was white in colour and powdery in texture and appeared to represent a small bowl or (less likely) shaft furnace for smelting iron. Small quantities of ferruginous ore were recovered and slag was thickly spread throughout the associated horizons. Associated with this was a shallow linear feature 057, which

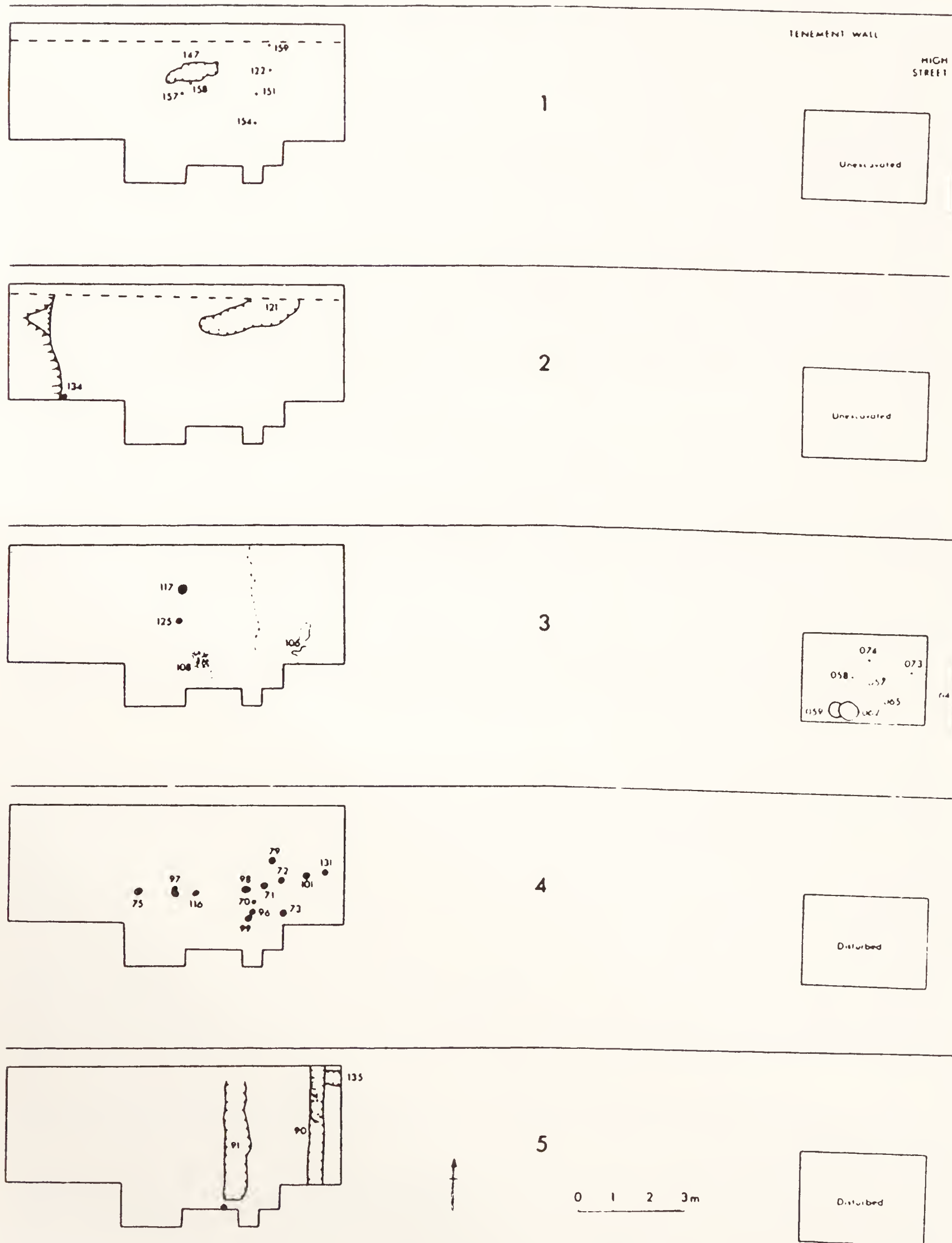


Fig. 7. Yarm 80; phase 1-5.

contained disturbed oxidized clay and was covered with the same layers as those masking the bowl. This was 1.70m long and 0.61m wide at the widest point, just before the square terminal, and probably represents a tapping trench, down which the slag was drawn before the iron bloom was removed upon cooling, in a solid piece. The sides, especially the northern side, showed *in situ* oxidization similar to that around the periphery of the furnace bowl. The contemporary surface was well covered with patches of charcoal and fragments of burnt clay.

Contemporary with the furnace, and 0.5m to the south-west, was a circular pit, 062, which was 0.70m east-west and 0.68m north-south. This contained a deposit of burnt material, mainly ash and charcoal, and was black with bluish overtones. This was clearly *in situ* and not derived from the waste of the adjacent furnace. The rounded bottom and sides were covered with a scaly, cinder-like accretion but the heat penetration was totally unlike that observed with the furnace and a much lower operating temperature must be postulated. It is most likely that this was a smithying hearth and the general character of the slag, confirmed this suggestion. The slag nodules were well covered in highly magnetic fines. A concentration of fines would be expected around an anvil site, but the common practice of placing an anvil on a block of elm would, once removed, leave no trace in the archaeological record. (D. H. Evans pers. comm.).

A further pit, 059, was slightly smaller and cut on its east side by 062. This also contained small amounts of metalworking debris, but no evidence of *in situ* burning.

Three stake-holes 058, 073 and 074, were contemporary with the furnace, and they provided the only indication of a contemporary above-ground structure. Stone was largely lacking from the deposits associated with the furnace and no fragments of a fired clay superstructure were identified. The evidence pointed to a comprehensive clearance of the site after the active life of the furnace.

The intense heat in proximity to the metallurgical activity on the frontage was used in some secondary process which utilized a glazed jug placed in a small pit cut into the surrounding clay (fig. 8). The vessel which was 0.21m in diameter and 0.22m tall and closely fitted the containing pit, was not recovered until it was cut in half by the contractors' foundation trench.

The rearward spread of the metallurgical debris provided a stratigraphic link between the frontage and the back plot. As in the earlier phases the features in the western half of trench B resemble garden or backyard elements and are clearly different from the debris of metal-working activity represented by 61. This spread of charcoal, ash, burnt soil and clinker-like material was 0.05m deep. Two dumped mounds of ash, numbered 106 on fig. 7, 3, were located in the south-eastern part of trench II.

It appears that the burgrave plot at this time was divided into at least three functionally different areas, the frontage furnace area, a space to the rear for depositing debris and a back-garden or earth-covered yard. Establishing a rigid sequence was impossible, since trench I was separated from trench II by 13m, and the earlier layers in II were bisected by the later sandstone wall sequence, 90, 84 and 10. However, this phase must be dated to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century on ceramic grounds.

Phase 4a

The next phase of activity was much less clearly defined (fig. 7, 4). The rear trench was dominated by thirteen post-holes which formed a linear alignment east-west. A timber structure of substantial size was present but no floor surface, hearths, internal fittings or demolition and abandonment contexts were recovered.

Phase 4b

Six of the thirteen posts had been removed leaving extraction pits which contained occupation debris (96, 99, 101, 102, 116, 131).

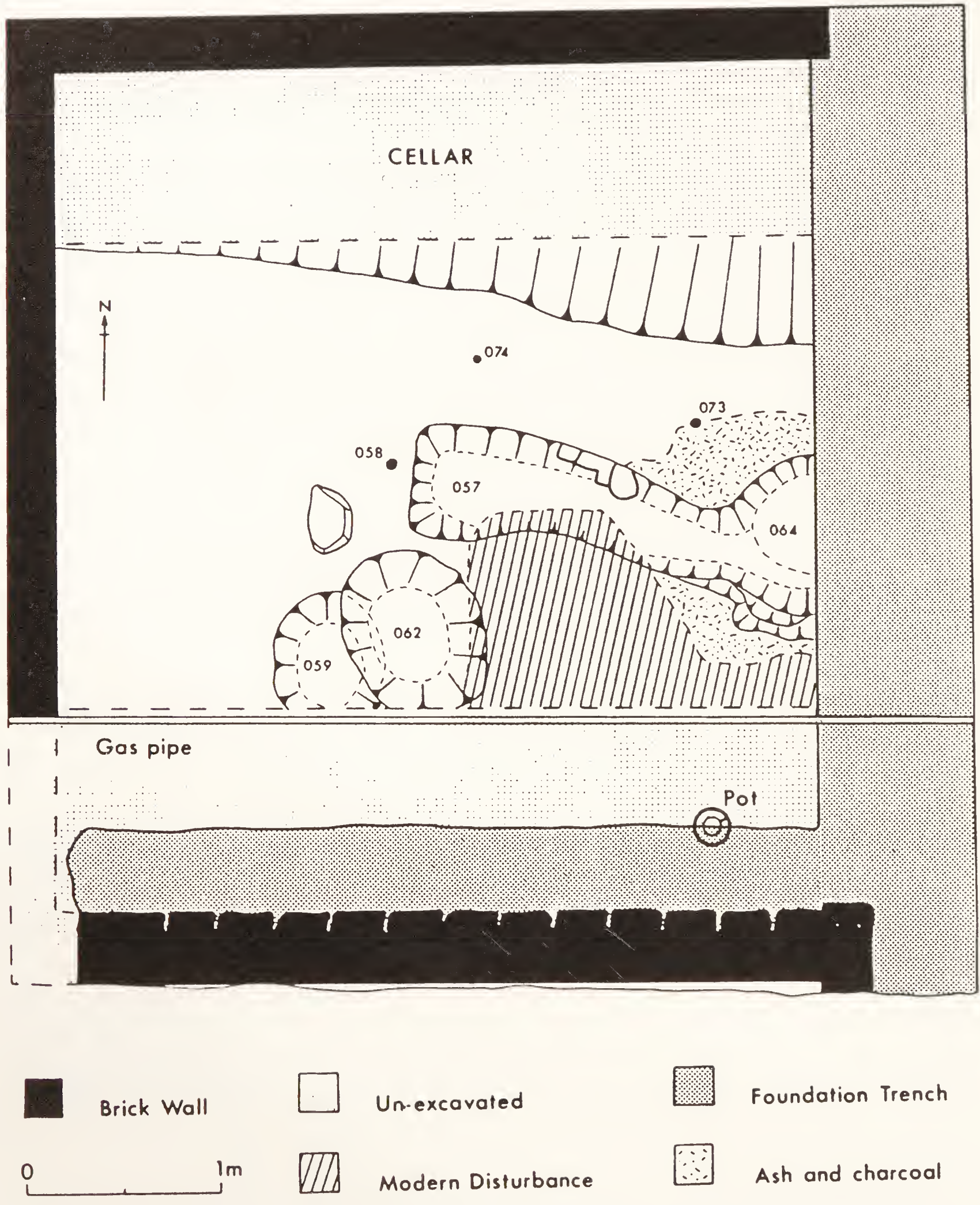


Fig. 8. The furnace on the High Street frontage.

Phase 5a

The posts were sealed by activity associated with sandstone buildings which dominated the rear of the plot until the eighteenth century. The remains of two walls are apparently part of the earliest sandstone building (walls 90 and 91), although it was not possible to establish their relationship. The robber trench of the former may have been contemporary with feature 135, a possible wall slot. Walls 90 and 91 were contemporary with an earth floor compacted into a tread surface which extended to either side of the walls. The building which was open-fronted and with simple humic rich floors is best interpreted as a stable (fig. 7, 5). The walls were 0.55m thick and could have supported a second storey.

Phase 5b

The floor was overlain by a series of rubbish deposits containing sandstone rubble, similar to the extant material of wall 90. The building debris overlay the floor of the stable and was sealed by the floor of the succeeding building. This phase represents the demolition of phase 5a and the foundations associated with phase 6.

Phase 6

This phase constitutes a re-build of the stable identified in phase 5a. The structure was again open-fronted, but evidence for differing functions of the rooms was apparent. This building, thought to be of 17th century date, is of sandstone construction.

Phase 7

A later stable was built onto the foundation courses of the phase 6 walls. The eastern bay of this structure stayed much as before, having a dark grey-green sandy, compacted, floor. It appears that this section was still used to stable horses, while the western part, enclosed and with a plaster floor, may have been used to store commodities that would have been damaged by moisture, such as grain food-stuffs or horse tackle.

Clay pipes associated with phases 5-7 suggested the following dates: phase 5a, 1620 to mid-seventeenth century; phase 6, mid-seventeenth century; phase 7, pre 1710.

Phase 8

The basic alignments of the sandstone buildings were re-used for brick-built eighteenth century cottages. Only one of these, the frontage shop, was extant in 1980. The other buildings, arranged at right angles to the High Street and accessed by a tunnelled path, were demolished in 1938.

Discussion

The excavation at 101 High Street revealed a sequence of intense occupation across the front part of this tenement. The earliest development is not accurately dated and will remain so until greater precision is provided by ceramic research, but the plot must have been developed by the thirteenth century, if not earlier. It was at this time that the present day boundaries were established in general alignment if not in specific detail. The present High Street shop-frontage is a little to the west of the front of the forge and smithy of Phase III, but such slight movements are not uncommon in urban medieval archaeology.

The forge itself is of interest as it shows that primary iron production was taking place in the centre of the medieval town. Secular industry is very poorly represented in the documentary evidence, giving the impression that the religious houses exercised a virtual monopoly on iron production. This imbalance can only be redressed by archaeological fieldwork and excavation.

The smelting hearth is typical of furnaces of this period; this example lacks superstructure and so could have been of either shaft or bowl variety. In plan, it is closely paralleled in a group of four early fourteenth century smelting furnaces at Baysdale, North Yorkshire, excavated by F. A. Aberg in 1964 (Wilson and Hurst 1965, 218) where,

as at Yarm, there was no ground-level evidence for tuyeres.

The associated hearth was probably used for smithing, either for working and refining the bloom after smelting, or secondary smithing to manufacture tools. Alternatively, the hearth may have been used for related processes, for example, the carburization of the ore before smelting.

The incidence of smelting and smithing on the same site is rarely found in the archaeological record. A notable example from the thirteenth century was found at Godmanchester, Cambs. (Crossley 1981, 31). At Yarm we have another example showing that primary and secondary production was not always the result of separate industries.

Little attempts had been made to build up the ground surface against the perennial problem of flooding despite the fact that the deposits here displayed a greater tendency to become waterlogged than those on West Street. This may account for the relatively short life of the timbered Phase IV structure and its replacement by substantial sandstone walling. The early seventeenth century may have witnessed some aggrandisement of the plot involving the construction of a substantial, possibly two-storied, range of ancillary buildings, either open-fronted or with wooden stable-type doors.

Conclusions

The problems of establishing the date and stimulus for the town lay-out have not been fully resolved but the present hypothesis that West Street pre-dates the High Street is not challenged by these results. The lack of pre-Conquest settlement on West Street, especially close to the church, may suggest that West Street represents the Norman foundation of a two-row settlement. The regular layout of north-eastern two-row villages implies an element of planning, suggesting that new land, on the edge of any existing occupation focus, was being used. In this context it may be significant that, apart from the sculptured fragments found in the churchyard, provenanced Saxon stray finds occur south of West Street, above the eight metre contour. It is also possible that the siting of West Street was influenced by the existence of an earlier fording point, to the west of the present bridge.

The next development may have been the layout of a triangular market place at the southern end of West Street but this area has been greatly affected by the construction of the railway viaduct in 1849. Further development saw the construction of the High Street and again it is likely that this was planted on new ground, to the east of the Hovedyke which ran down the spine of the river loop. This took over the functions of West Street and the triangular market place, the latter being subsequently known as 'the Old Marketplace'.

From this point direct comparisons between the sites are possible; in general terms the intensity of occupation on the High Street can be contrasted with the slower rate of change on West Street. Moreover, on the High Street development extended further back down the tenement, while the West Street buildings lay along the road. This implies that space was at a premium on the High Street and that this was not so on West Street. It is possible that after the founding of the borough rising rents or similar mechanisms forced the re-location of the forge and smithy on to the back streets where such light industrial activity is usually found.

After the foundation of the mesne borough the town developed the role of entrepot; of the 72 contributors to the 1301 Lay Subsidy, the majority have surnames concerned with the shipping trade, although it is interesting to note that few exotic imports have been uncovered during the excavations. In the case of the West Street tenement this may result from off-site rubbish disposal, while on the High Street during this period the main sequence of deposits was of an industrial character.

The wharves themselves should be sought on the bank of the eastern side of the loop,

running parallel to the High Street. This area, which has escaped modern development, provides the opportunity to see if the post medieval pattern of wharf, warehouse, workshop and frontage house developed in earlier centuries.

The excavations have justified the inclusion of Yarm in regional research programmes into the origin and development of medieval towns, and have highlighted, in particular, the considerable potential that Yarm has for the survival of undisturbed waterlogged deposits.

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THE SMALL FINDS

Medieval Pottery, 1977

By

Kathryn Barrett

The pottery dealt with here comes from the first two phases of the site's history. That of the later features and the overburden has not been included. The examination was undertaken with the aid of a 10x magnification hand lens.

Fabric 1

The largest amount of pottery falls into this fabric group. Generally it has a hard gritty texture, sometimes with vesicles. The filler used is quartz sand; rounded grains of quartz in various quantities and sizes. Sometimes it can be well sorted, othertimes it is more mixed, with various grain sizes. Most common are sizes between 0.5mm and 1.0mm in diameter, but some sherds can contain grains up to 2.0mm in diameter.

Black inclusions are sometimes present (possibly iron ore) red ones (again possibly iron ore or grog), and creamy ones of either limestone or clouded quartz. Surfaces are generally smooth, with filler barely breaking through. Surface colours vary from bright salmon pink through orange/buff to cream. Cores are deep salmon pink to buff, with some tending to cream/grey at the centre. Glaze is not common, but when found it is good quality, thick and varying in colour from greeny brown and pale green to orange brown and yellow brown, often speckled or striped.

Forms represented in this fabric are jugs and bowls. A smaller number of sherds show sooting.

Fabric 2

Very coarse, poorly fired pottery with softer, often weathered, surfaces. The filler is a fairly plentiful mixture of rounded quartz grains which can be clear, opaque or red stained. Also included are lumps of white material, some grass and some iron ores.

Fabric 3

Hard, well-fired pottery distinguished by its hardness and 'tinny' sound when struck. Quite rich quartz filler of varying size. Another distinguishing feature is the bubbling up of the surface, which often has a speckled brown/grey colour. (This fabric may be overfired and thus could be dispersed between fabrics 1 and 4).

Fabric 4

Generally the texture is hard, with cores of grey to black in colour. Surface colours can be grey to orange. The filler is rounded quartz sand up to about 0.5mm diameter and can be well sorted or mixed. Included in this fabric group are a number of sherds of very hard, dark grey fabric with little filler visible. Glazes are common, varying from a thick dark green glaze, to a very poor, weathered green glaze.

Fabric 5

Generally grey to black in colour, this pottery is of a poor quality, often quite sandy to the feel, with no filler visible to the naked eye, except for mica. Surfaces are usually orange, sometimes grey.

Fabric 6

This fabric is hard and very gritty. Sherds are usually very thin in comparison to those in other fabrics. There is a very abundant filler of rounded quartz grains, fairly uniform in size (0.5mm), and visible to the naked eye.

Fabric 7

This group has been separated on the grounds that the quartz grains of the filler are stained red. Otherwise the pottery is similar to fabric 6, with some more akin to fabric 1.

There are a few individual sherds which are indeterminate due to burning, or are of a fabric other than those grouped above. Some may be variants of the above fabrics. A few are described in the catalogue.

Catalogue of drawn pottery (Figs. 9-11)

Glaze is external unless otherwise stated.

Feature 88

- 1 Fabric 7

Feature 82

- 2 Fabric 1
- 3 Fabric 1, Rim form II
- 4 Fabric 1
- 5 Fabric 1
- 6 Fabric 1, horn aquamanile, partial yellow/green glaze
- 7 Fabric 1
- 8 Fabric 1, body sherd with wavy incised line, orange glaze

Feature 84

- 9 Fabric 4, roundel, splash of green glaze
- 10 Fabric 1

Feature 73

- 11 Fabric 4, blackened rim
- 12 Fabric 1
- 13 Fabric 1, (rim form III)
- 14 Fabric 1, orange glaze under base
- 15 Fabric 1
- 16 Fabric 1, decorated body sherd, green glaze with brown streaks.

Feature 77

- 17 Fabric similar to Fabric 4 with grey inclusions
- 18 Fabric 1, orange/green glaze beneath rim
- 19 Fabric 5
- 20 Fabric 6, yellow/green glaze
- 21 Fabric 2, base thumbbed underneath
- 22 Fabric 2, (rim form I)

Feature 71

- 23 Fabric 1, base of handle, thick smooth green glaze

Feature 55

- 24 Fabric 1, (rim form II), splash orange glaze
- 25 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 26 Fabric 1, splash brown glaze
- 27 Fabric 1, fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 28 Fabric 1
- 29 Fabric 1, burning on base, thumbbed underneath
- 30 Fabric 4, applied thumbbed strips, poor green glaze
- 31 Fabric 1, (rim form II)
- 32 Fabric 4
- 33 Fabric 1
- 34 Fabric 1, thumbbed bowl rim, orange/green glaze beneath rim

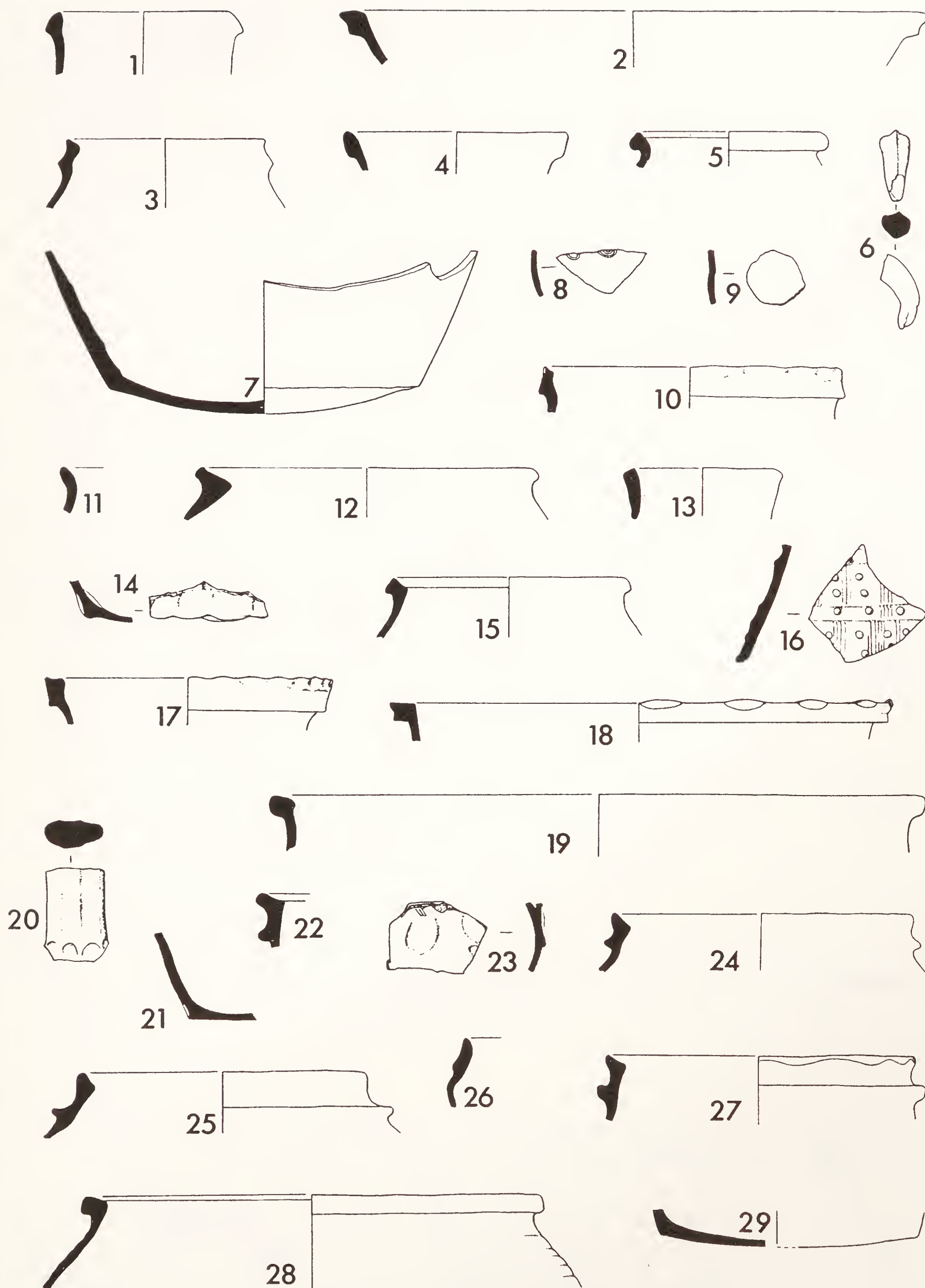


Fig. 9. Medieval Pottery scale 1:4.

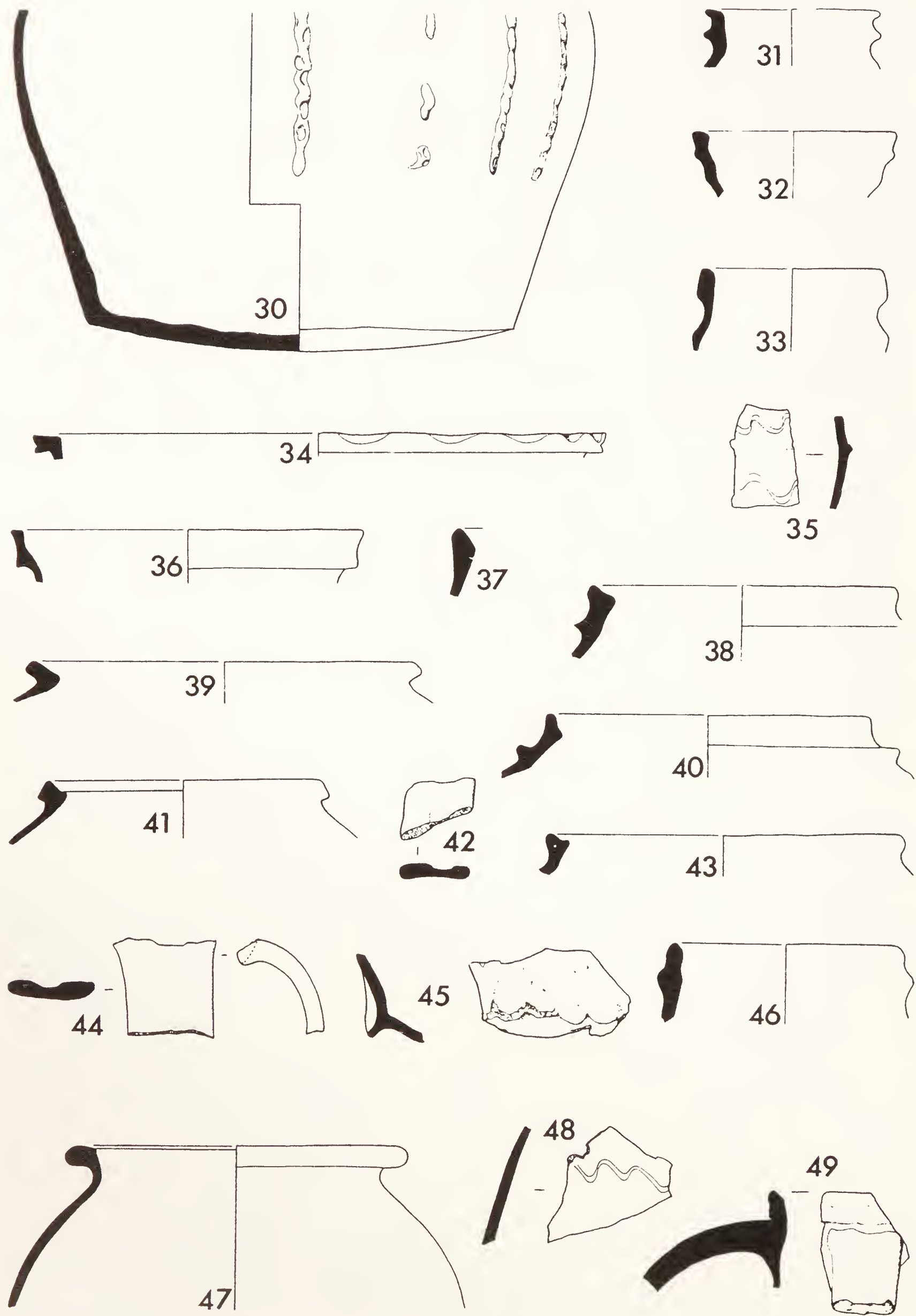


Fig. 10. Medieval Pottery scale 1:4.

- 35 Fabric 1, decorated body sherd, smooth thick yellow/green glaze
- 36 Fabric 4, (rim form II)
- 37 Fabric 5
- 38 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 39 Fabric 3
- 40 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 41 Fabric 1
- 42 Fabric 1, handle, smooth yellow glaze
- 43 Fabric 1
- 44 Fabric 3, handle, overfired, blistered brown glaze

Layer 14c

- 45 Fabric 1, thumbled base
- 46 Fabric 5
- 47 Hard red fabric with abundant quartz grains of consistent size, about 1mm diameter

Layer 1d

- 48 Fabric 4, handle and rim, splashes poor green glaze
- 49 Fabric 4, decorated body sherd, smooth dark green glaze

Layer 1c

- 50 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 51 Fabric 4, decorated handle, dark green glaze
- 52 Fabric 6
- 53 Fabric 1, (rim form III)
- 54 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 55 Fabric 4
- 56 Grey in colour, similar in texture to Fabric 6, this sherd has probably been burnt
- 57 Fabric 1, decorated body sherd, thick smooth orange and green glaze
- 58 Fabric 1, possibly same vessel, thick smooth bright orange glaze
- 59 Fabric 1, possibly same vessel, thick smooth bright orange glaze

Feature 67

- 60 Fabric 1, (rim form II)
- 61 Fabric 2, (rim form II)

Feature 54

- 62 Fabric 1
- 63 Fabric 4, decorated body sherd, poor green glaze
- 64 Fabric 1, bung hole, yellow glaze

Feature 53

- 65 Fabric 1, (rim form II)

Layer 1b

The pottery from this layer has not been included in the detailed analysis but some sherds are illustrated below.

- 66 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 67 Fabric 1
- 68 Fabric 1, (rim form III)
- 69 Fabric 4, patchy poor green glaze
- 70 Fabric 1
- 71 Fabric 1, (rim form I)
- 72 Possibly Scarborough type ware, decorated body sherd, thick green glaze
- 73 Very coarse gritty fabric, with filler of quartz and dark brown grains possibly iron ore. Orange surfaces, dark grey interior

Discussion

There is little material published from the Teesside area, and few definitive conclusions can be drawn from this study. Dating is difficult, not only because of the lack of stratified material for comparison, but also because of the nature of the material itself. In spite of this, this group is of interest because of one of its more unusual forms; namely

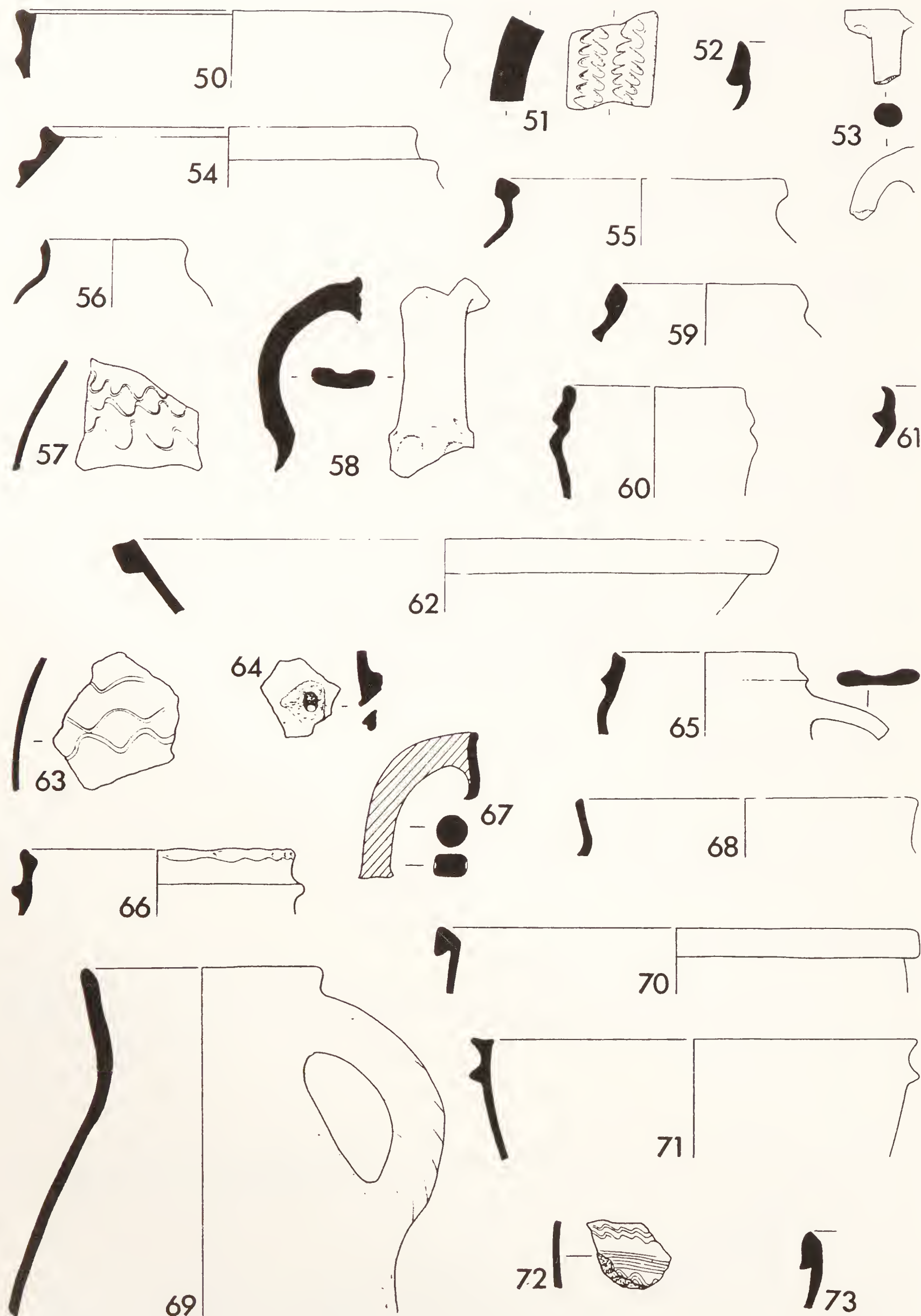


Fig. 11. Medieval Pottery scale 1:4.

the bifid rim. It also poses a number of problems which need careful consideration within the overall context of regional material in the Teesside area.

In dealing with this group of pottery, the main problem is classifying it on the basis of fabric. Yarm is located in the Tees valley, an area abundant in boulder clays and alluvial clays, and is also a drainage basin from the neighbouring hills of grits and sandstones to the south and north. Within the Teesside area therefore it would be possible to find a number of suitable supplies of both clays and fillers for a pottery industry.

This is reflected in the nature of the pottery; virtually all the material from the site is of a fairly similar fabric, subdivision of which presented some problems. Most of the variety of the quartz sand fillers could easily be explained as resulting from the use of local river or stream sand deposits, and certainly need not point to different production sites.

What is of interest is that a large proportion of this pottery (71.95 per cent) is produced in a hard red fabric (fabric 1). A feature of this fabric is sherds of a salmon-pink colour, with smooth surfaces and often a darker pink slip. The filler, as has been described, is quartz sand. However such a fabric and colour have usually been associated in quantity with sites in and immediately around Hartlepool, and in smaller numbers on other sites in the area, indeed the term 'Hartlepool-type ware' has been used. Very typical characteristics of this supposed 'Hartlepool-type ware' are jug rims of a particular form (nos. 13 and 68), and also a very smooth thick glaze, which mostly occurs in a streaky pale green colour, but is also found in an orange-brown to streaky-yellow colour. Where this rim form and glaze have not been present the unglazed sherds have been classified on colour and fabric alone. At Yarm some rims and glaze of this 'typical Hartlepool-type ware' are present, but in colour and fabric they are easily accommodated with the other pottery from the site.

One peculiar feature at Yarm is the distinctive bifid rim form (nos. 25, 27, 40). As sherds of this rim form appeared to be fairly common on the site, an effort has been made to quantify them with regard to other rim forms found.

Form I

Bifid rim (nos. 22, 25, 27, 38, 40, 50, 54, 66, 71)

This is a wide bifid rim, which from the upper edge of the rim to the lowest edge is approximately 2cm or greater. These rims come from vessels of a 'goldfish bowl' form or from vessels with upright sides (nos. 50, 71).

Form II

Intermediate rim (nos. 3, 24, 36, 60, 61, 65)

This includes rims of a similar but narrower and less pronounced profile as Form I. These are generally of a smaller diameter, many being jug rims or small bowls.

Form III

Hartlepool type as defined by Addis¹ (nos. 13, 53, 68)

These rims are plain, upright and chamfered, either very narrow or thickened.

All the other rim forms were grouped together and Table 3 shows the occurrence of each type. The definitions are based on visual comparison. The number is a minimum for Form I.

At Yarm Form I makes up 21.32 per cent of all rim sherds found; most are in fabric 1 with only two in fabric 2 and one in fabric 3. Except for two with splashes all appear to be unglazed. At Hart,² and at Guisborough (unpublished) a small number of such bifid rims were found. Addis does not give a proportion for these rims, but of the 175 rim sherds illustrated from Hart, only two are Form I³ (as opposed to 17 of Form II). A study of Addis's fabric groups shows that many of them could be accommodated in our Fabric I.

It is a possibility that most of the material on this Yarm site is coming from Hartlepool, but this seems highly unlikely and a more local production centre might be indicated. This is supported by excavations which took

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1. Addis, E. L., 'The Pottery' in Austin, D., 'Fieldwork and Excavation at Hart, Co. Durham, 1965-1975', *Arch. Ael.* Fifth series, IV (1976), 100-124.
 2. *Ibid*; Barcham, R. C., 'Excavations at Hart, Cleveland, 1978-1979', unpublished excavation archive in Cleveland County Archaeological Section.
 3. Addis, *op. cit.*, nos. 55 and 92.

place at West Hartburn, 4 miles from Yarm, where some bifid rims were also recovered. If the greater percentage of illustrated rims truly represents the character of this assemblage, then a fairly high proportion of bifid rims is indicated from this site also.⁴

In an effort to rationalize the analysis of local pottery production the term 'Tees Valley Ware' has been introduced (Patterson, Yarm 1980 report). However this term may oversimplify the problem. There *are* differences in the pottery throughout the areas, and no doubt these can be categorized. What is needed is a further study of comparative material; in particular a much more intensive study of pottery from Hartlepool.

The differences in rim forms between site assemblages could also be explained by the sites being of different date. However as yet there is no clear dating evidence from sites in the area. At Yarm a slightly larger proportion of Form III to Form I rims (13.08 to 17.75 per cent) occurred in the Phase I features than in the pottery as a whole (8.63 to 21.32 per cent). On this site Phase I is dated to between the mid-12th and the early 13th century. However elsewhere this form has also been described as a typical south-east Durham early 14th-century form.⁵

A related problem is one of colour; given a ready availability of quartz sand as a filler and of clays of various kinds throughout the area, a different colour of ware need only indicate a different firing technique. Pottery from a site at Guisborough Westgate which is undated, but attributable to somewhere in the range 13th to 16th century, consists of predominantly reduced wares. This compares closely with Fabric 4 and with a reduced ware from Hart.⁶ The common assumption that reduced wares are generally later than oxidized wares is not supported by the pottery from Yarm where Fabric 4 constitutes a similar proportion of the pottery from both Phases I and II.

In conclusion, there are considerable difficulties over the use of the term 'Hartlepool-type Ware'. At the moment the main distinction which is still valid is that in the Hartlepool area more of the typical rim form (Form III) and glaze occurs than on other sites in Teesside, whereas Yarm has the bifid rim, which is not well represented elsewhere in the area. It may be that at least two centres are in production, but the possibility that some of these Hartlepool-type rims were produced at Yarm does exist.

Medieval Pottery, 1980 by Helen Patterson

The pottery assemblage is limited in size and range and the present report is restricted by these factors and in the knowledge that recent excavations in Medieval Hartlepool have produced much larger assemblages of pottery which will provide a more secure foundation for the study of medieval pottery in the Tees Valley. The present summary is derived from the more detailed archive report and outlines the recognized fabrics and their distribution on the site. The numbers refer to Figs. 11 and 12.

Two medieval pottery traditions are represented; they exploit different clay sources and have distinctive shapes. Tees Valley Ware has already been recognised as a common type on medieval sites in the area and has a wide range of jugs, jars and other vessels. Green Glazed Ware is commonly represented by large thickwalled storage jars. The relationship between the two industries is not clear in the present sample, but it does seem that the oxidized products of the Tees Valley industry predominate in the early levels, to be succeeded by the Green Glazed Wares. This sequence is mirrored elsewhere in Northern England. It is interesting to note that the position of Yarm as an important port on the River Tees is not clearly reflected in the present pottery assemblage.

Tees Valley Ware Type 1

The most common fabric and here seen as the standard Tees Valley Ware fabric. An oxidized pink to red orange fabric, it is characterized by numerous opaque and rose quartz grits, mica and iron oxide inclusions.

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4. Still, L. and Pallister, A., 'The excavation of one house site in the deserted village of West Hartburn, Co. Durham', *Arch. Ael.* Fourth series, XLII (1964), fig. 7, nos. 2 and 7; Still, L. and Pallister, A., 'West Hartburn, 1965, Site "C"', *Arch. Ael.* Fourth series, XLV (1967), fig. 3, nos. 2 and 6.
 5. Austin, D. and Thomas, L. M., 'A Medieval House Area in Hart, Co. Durham', *Trans. Arch. and Archit. Soc. Durham and Northumberland* 3 (1974), 51-69, fig. 7, nos 9 and 18.
 6. Barcham, *op. cit.* in n.2.

Used mainly for thin-walled hollow wares, the vessels represented are cooking vessels, jars and jugs. (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 28, 29).

Tees Valley Ware 2

This has smaller inclusions, cleaner breaks and is often very thin-walled. The most common and distinctive glaze is a good even yellow-copper green. The more refined clay and improved finish could suggest a more specialized production of a limited range of vessels, the face mask fragment would support this, but it would equally well reflect a later production date. (Nos. 15, 16, 18, 27, 30).

Tees Valley Ware Type 3

This is the same fabric as standard Tees Valley Ware but reduced, usually with a light to dark grey core with an oxidized exterior margin. The poorer finish and scorched exterior of these vessels suggests they were used for cooking. (Nos. 2, 3, 26).

Tees Valley Ware Type 4

A finer and softer variant of the standard Tees Valley Ware; the inclusions are sometimes quite large but less frequent, the breaks are smooth and soft. It is relatively thick-walled. Only four vessels are represented, all open forms. (No. 22).

Tees Valley Ware Type 5

The fabric has been reduced to buff, sometimes with an oxidized core. Vessel types in this fabric are quite distinctive; production seems to be limited mainly to globular vessels with bifid rims (nos. 6 and 7) and club-shaped rims (no. 8). The majority are unglazed.

Green Glazed Ware

These wares predominate in the later levels, vessels in this fabric have been noted in contexts at Hartlepool, Guisborough (Westgate), Rievaulx and Hart, but as a fabric type it has not previously been isolated and its area of distribution has yet to be plotted.

The most common forms are thick-walled hollow vessels probably used for storage. This is in keeping with other northern reduced green glazed wares. Bases are convex or flat, handles are always of the strap type. A series of open vessels, bowls and dishes were also produced. The fabric is remarkably consistent and comprises an unrefined clay containing quartz, mica and some iron with few or no deliberate inclusions. It is hard fired and commonly partly reduced pink grey to buff. Fully oxidized and fully reduced examples do occur in very late levels. Vessels usually have a galena green glaze, later examples have added copper. Decorative devices are rarely found. (Nos. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46).

Other Local Medieval Wares (OLM)

A large number of fragments in a partly reduced fabric with an external dark galena green glaze are represented at Yarm; they occur predominantly in the later levels. They are too badly reduced to allow convincing identification of fabrics and have been grouped solely on the basis of their reduced nature and similar finish. The basic inclusions; quartz, mica and iron are typical of those of the other local wares and they seem to be products of a local industry. One whole jug (no. 54) is included in this grouping, it was found in burnt clay deposits associated with ironworking. Reduced throughout, the fabric has been scorched on the exterior with occasional iron accretions.

A few fragments of a fine oxidized red fabric are represented including one handle (no. 51), they suggest relatively small closed forms. All have a good copper green glaze covering both surfaces. Similar wares were found at Hart, where they were assigned a 16th century date (Addis 1976, 103). A jug with a strap handle (no. 48) has a good thick galena green glaze covering both sides. A large flat base is oxidized pink-red and has a good thick dark yellow brown internal glaze which runs over the breaks of the fragment.

Scarborough Ware

Only four fragments of Scarborough ware have been identified: all have a bright dark copper green glaze on the exterior surface. One fragment, part of a face mask, occurs in an early level; its fabric is consistent with Farmer's Phase 1 Scarborough ware (Farmer 1979, 29). The other three fragments are in Phase II fabric; they have vertical ridges and include one with small barbotine blobs.

Bransby Ware

The two fragments represented at Yarm are residual. The rim of a jug (no. 50) has an external thin pale galena green splashed glaze. The other fragment, of unknown vessel form, is unglazed.

Buff White Ware

Ellison suggests these wares are the products of a kiln in the immediate vicinity of Newcastle; at Castle Ditch they occur from the first half of the 13th century to the early 15th century with a peak in production early to mid

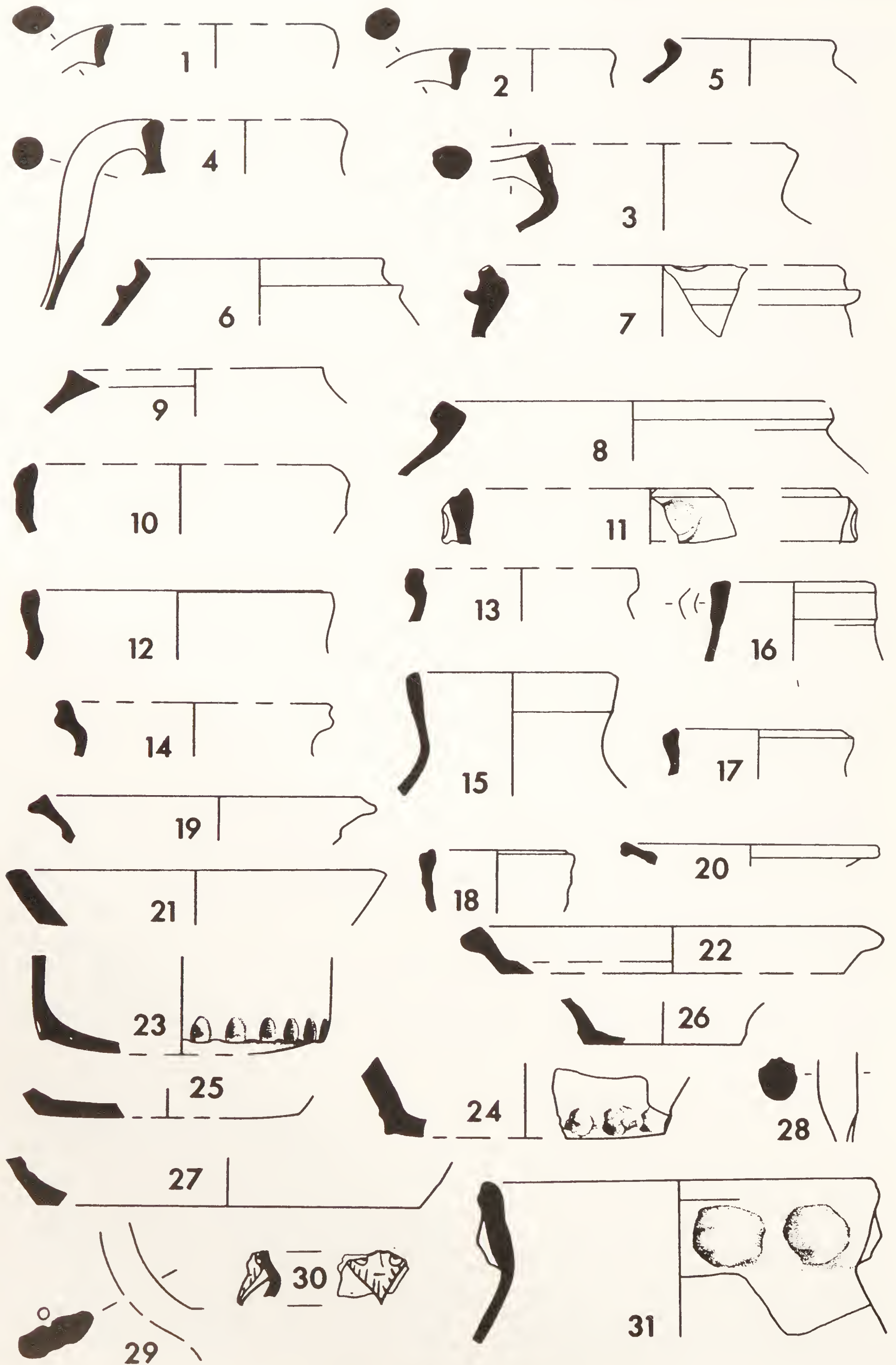


Fig. 12. The Pottery scale 1:4.

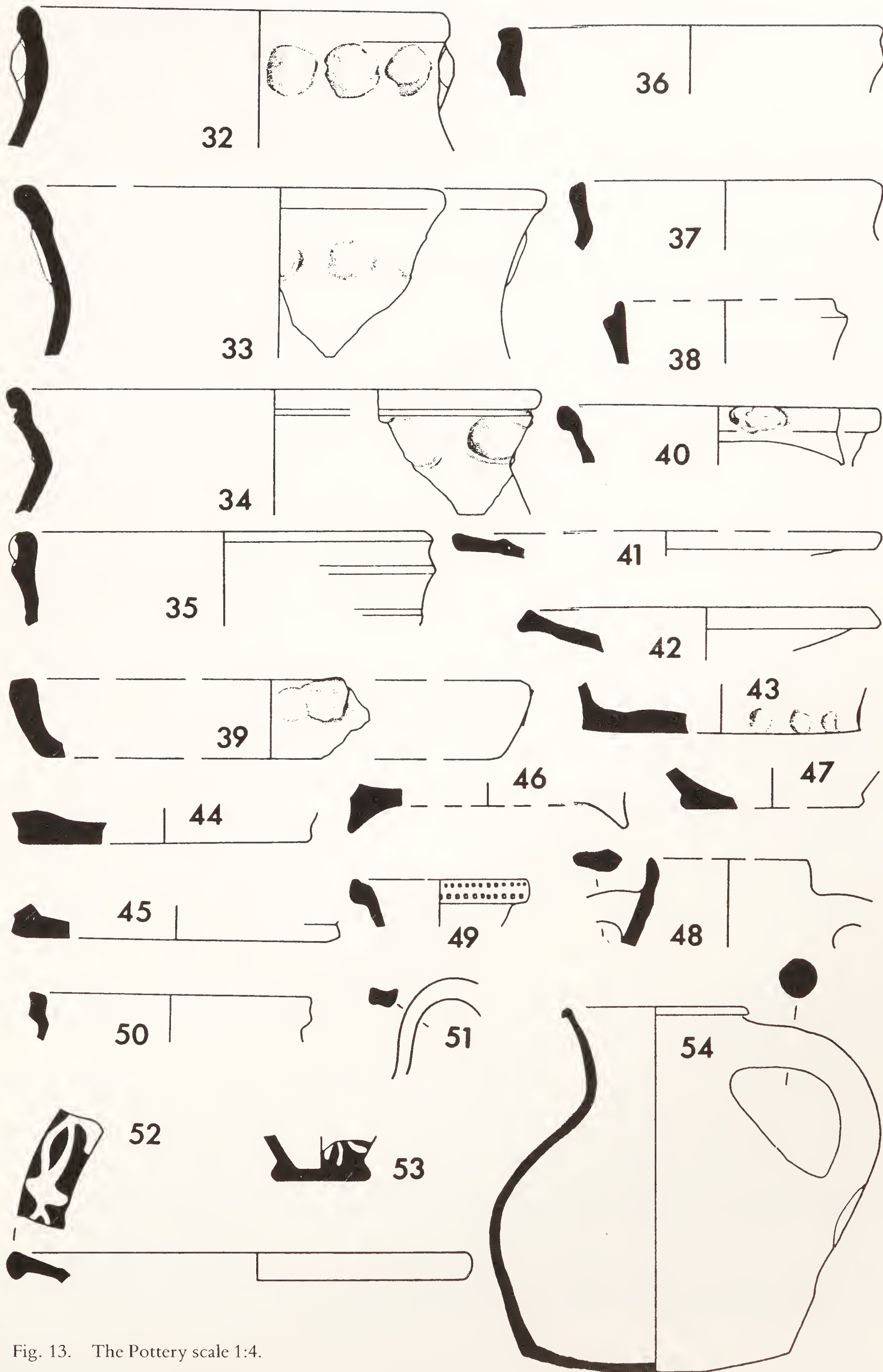


Fig. 13. The Pottery scale 1:4.

14th century (Ellison 1981, 105). The main forms produced were cooking vessels, jars and jugs. One vessel is represented at Yarm, the fabric is reduced dark grey to the point of vitrification and characterized by iron inclusions which occur on the interior surface as small blisters.

Fine Green-Glazed Ware

A few fragments from Yarm have a fine hard, highly micaceous fabric with a white exterior margin and a reduced black internal margin. They have a pitted, mottled copper green glaze on the exterior surface and are probably fragments of a jug. Although this is a good quality fabric and glaze it is best seen as an English product.

Dutch Red Wares

Tripod pitcher body fragment, probably of 17th-century date; it has a soft red sandy fabric and is sharply carinated with rilling above the carination. A poor red-brown glaze partially covers the exterior and interior surface.

Cistercian Wares

The examples from Yarm are of standard Yorkshire types and can be dated to around the mid 16th century. The fragments include one inverted rim, probably of a posset pot.

Local Late Medieval Ware (LLM)

A single sherd may represent a continuation of the Tees Valley Ware tradition. This is part of a jug (no. 49) with a simple out-turned 'T' shaped rim. The exterior has a good quality transparent glaze giving an amber colour, and the fabric is hard fired, orange buff in colour. The sherd is from the floor of Stable 1, dated to the early 17th century on the evidence of the clay pipes. The fabric is similar to the better quality medieval Tees Valley fabrics, and appears to be manufactured from the same materials.

English Slipwares

Only two fragments are represented at Yarm. Both are from hollow vessels; they have a very hard pale yellow oxidized fabric, decorated externally with a feathered brown slip with white slip drops trailed under an even amber glaze. The interior has an amber glaze.

Slipped Red Wares of Unknown Provenance

Two vessels are represented in a red-orange, fine hard, sandy fabric with a rich brown glaze covering the exterior and the interior. They have a white slipped decoration which appears yellow under the glaze. They comprise one rim of a plate or dish (no. 52) with trailed slip decoration around the flange, and the base of a small hollow vessel (no. 53) with trailed slip decoration on the exterior. Possibly Metropolitan slipware.

Tin Glazed Wares

Two small and abraded sherds of tin-glazed ware were found in the later levels. One is a delft type of probable English origin.

The Post-Medieval Pottery

by

D. H. Evans

Very little post-medieval pottery was found, and only one vessel deserves comment.

Fig. 14 no. 74. Intrusive in layer 1c. A Surrey White Ware rim in a fairly coarse white fabric with sparse orange-red inclusions; both surfaces dipped in a streaky copper-rich medium green lead glaze.

Mr. Stephen Moorhouse kindly offered the following comments:

This is either from a condiment, from the junction of the two compartments, or more probably from a kind of vessel described variously in the literature as anything from a holy water container to a flower holder, neither of which adequately describes its use; in the suggested reconstruction drawing, the sherd is shown at the junction of the smaller compartment with the body of the vessel. Some of the London examples were discussed in the Basing House report, where an example from Basing House is illustrated⁷; Stephen Nelson has recently found an example in an excavation of a kiln at Kingston-upon-Thames. A few white ware green glazed examples are in the Museum of London collections; their date range should be late medieval to 17th century.

7. Moorhouse, Stephen, 'Finds from Basing House, Hampshire (c. 1540-1645): Part One', *Post-Med. Arch.* 4 (1970), 50-1, and fig. 11, no. 51.

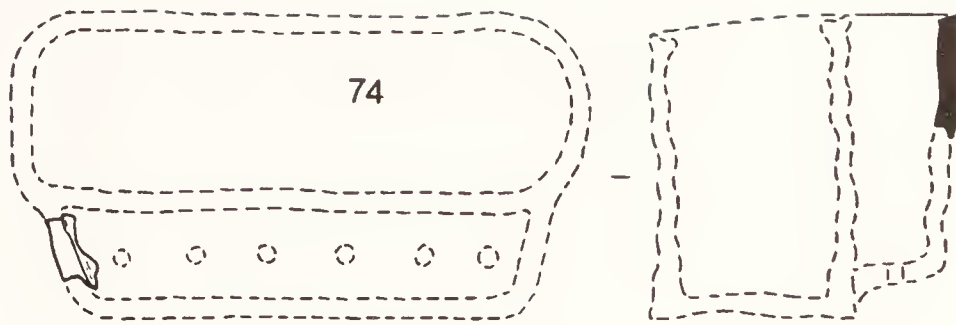


Fig. 14. Post-medieval sherd, 1:4.

The Coins

Three coins were found in 1977. The report on the first is by Ms. M. M. Archibald of the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals; the other two were kindly identified by Mr. G. C. Boon, Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales.

- 1 From the fill of slot 95, a cut-half-penny of the "Flag" type of the period of Stephen 1135-1154.

Obv.: Crowned bust to right with arm holding a pennant, lower half of effigy present.

//////// EI:

Rev.: cross with cusped fleur-de-lys in the angles as Stephen type I.

//////// uncertain symbol E L S crescent B(or D) N.

Wt.: 0.22 gm. (mended) = 3.4 gr.

Ref.: cf. *BMC, Norman Kings*, Nos. 254-9 and Mack, *BNJ* 1966, 78-9, Nos. 217 a-p.

Mr. Peter J. Seaby, who has made a die-study of this coinage has kindly told me that neither die has hitherto been noted by him.

The attribution of the group to which this coin belongs to the mint of York has been universally accepted but in a recent paper to the British Numismatic Society, Mr. Seaby suggested that these coins were not English but continental issues since close stylistic affinities exist between them and coins produced in the Low Countries. The identification of the mint was complicated by the fact that none of the comparatively large number of surviving specimens had a known provenance. The discovery of this, the first provenanced example, is therefore particularly important since isolated site-finds of this period generally display a strong bias in favour of locally produced issues. The Yarm coin therefore considerably strengthens the traditional attribution to York, and a different explanation must be sought for the group's undoubted affinities with continental issues. It is quite possible that a die-cutter or cutters was brought over from the continent or that dies were prepared there and sent to N. E. England for use by an authority unable for political or strategic reasons to obtain official dies from London (It would be possible to argue that the coins had been struck in the Low Countries "to order" as it were with the names of the English King and certain prominent magnates from the Yorkshire area upon them. I personally find this a less acceptable interpretation of the admittedly very scanty evidence). The traditional attribution of these coins to the period of Stephen's captivity from February to November 1141 has much to recommend it but there are considerable chronological difficulties. It is certain however that these coins do not occur in type I hoards such as that from Prestwich which had considerable numbers of York coins in it. 1141 is therefore the likely *terminus post quem* for the issue. Hoards from the middle period of Stephen's reign are almost entirely lacking, but type I and its derivatives were certainly out of circulation some time before the end of his reign. The date of deposition therefore is likely to be within the bracket 1141-1152, with a date earlier rather than later within it the more probable.

- 2 From topsoil, a Charles II baubee or 6d.: Scots, 1679; equivalent to 1/2d. English.

- 3 From topsoil, a George II counterfeit of a shilling; dated 1816.

Found in 1980. Layer 50, earthen floor, sandstone building II, a bodkin of Charles II, 1663; equivalent to 1/6d. English.

Polished Stone Axe by G. M. Crawford

The axe, (Fig. 15) was discovered in the natural clay which was taken, probably from the banks of the Tees, to make up the foundations of the medieval house. The axe measures 7.3cm in length, 4.5cm across the cutting edge and is oval in cross-section. It is made of a dark-green, close-grained stone of volcanic or igneous origin; as no petrological analysis has been carried out, no specific point of origin can be designated. The axe is carefully finished and bears no trace of use.

In many respects this axe is similar to one found recently at Hilton (NZ 465123); this axe is made from what appears to be a fine-grained, relatively soft sandstone with black feldspathic inclusions; no petrological analysis

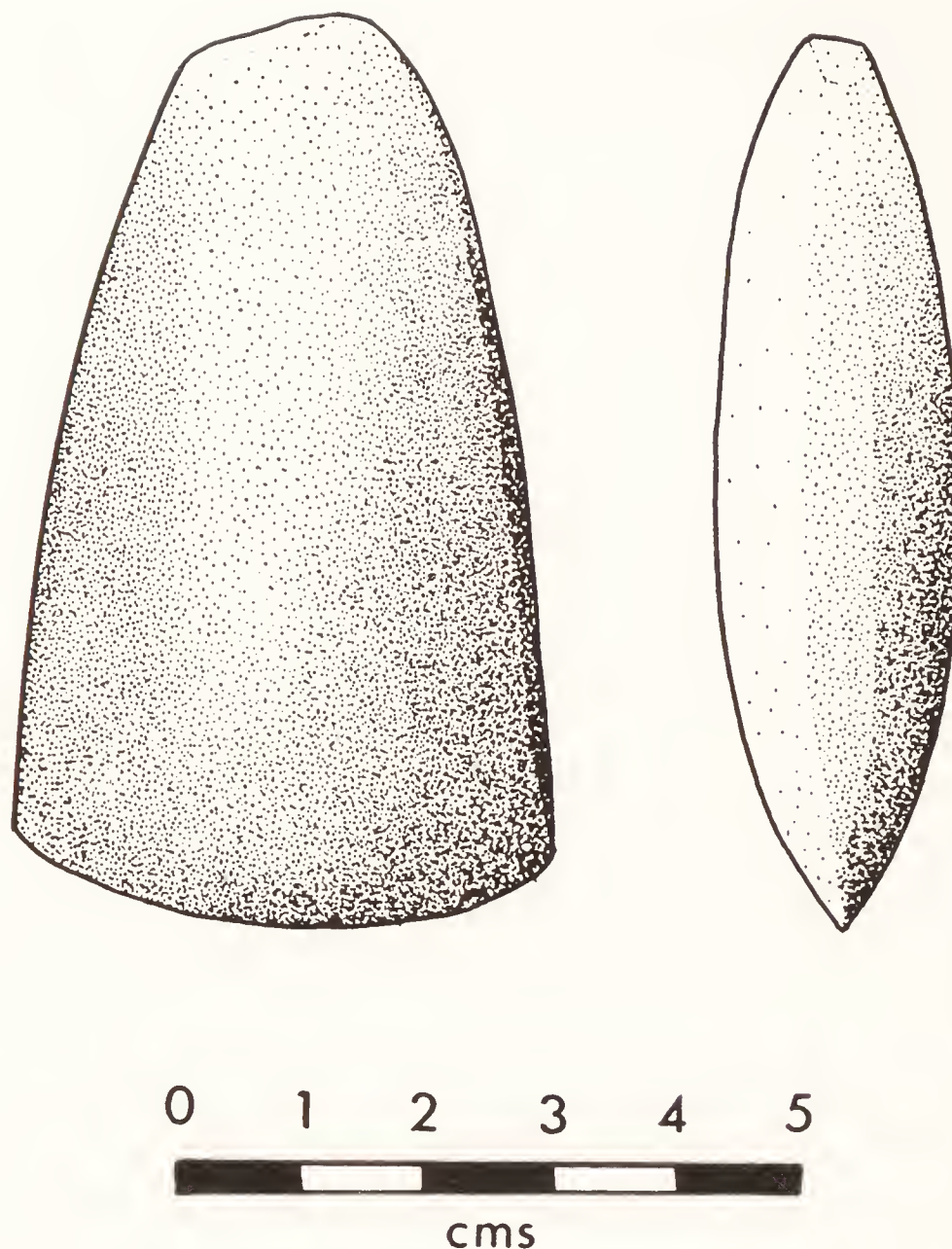


Fig. 15. Polished stone axe, 1:1.

has been done. It measures 7.4cm in length by 3.8cm across the cutting edge and is oval in cross-section: it, too, bears no signs of any wear through use.

Both axes were found on the Tees plain, on the edge of a low lying area which was an extensive salt-marsh until it was finally reclaimed in the late 18th century. Our knowledge of the vegetational landscape of this area during the neolithic period is derived from only a few pollen profiles, but it is clear from these that neolithic activity here was limited in scale, being based on shifting agriculture in small clearings where the forest successfully regenerated on abandonment⁸. In contrast, the saltmarsh would have supported a much lighter forest cover, comprising an entirely different range of plant and animal life.

It is against this background that we must consider the uses to which these small axes may have been put. The small size, and in the case of the axe from Hilton, the softness of the stone, indicate a different function from that of the more common heavier axes which were almost certainly connected with forest clearance. An example of the latter, possibly broken in use, has recently been found at Marton (NZ 506151). It may be that these are specialized carpenters' or woodworkers' tools, used to produce a range of woodwork (such as has been found in connection with the trackways in the Somerset Levels of a similar date⁹), from the light woods which grew in abundance in the Tees saltmarsh. Some examples of such work have been recovered from the well-known peat deposits at Hartlepool north of the Tees¹⁰. A greater range of contemporary wood-working techniques is represented in the track ways of the Somerset Levels. At least 2 other axes of similar size, from the Tees at Thornaby, reinforce the suggestion that these small axes are connected with the low lying marshland area.¹¹

Other non-functional interpretations should also be considered; the condition of the Yarm and Hilton axes indicates that they may never have been hafted, and it is therefore possible that they were never intended for use, being instead prestige items which were lost or intentionally deposited in the marshy area. However, in the absence of comparative material, this 'ritual' function cannot be tested.

8. Bartley, D. D., Chambers, C. & Hart-Jones, B., 'The Vegetational history of parts of South and East Durham', *New Phytologist* 77 (1976), 437-68; Turner, J., 'The Environment of N.E. England during Roman times as shown by pollen analysis', *J. Arch. Science* 6 (1979), 285-90.

9. See Coles J. and Orme B. *Somerset Levels Papers* 1-7 (1975-81).

10. In particular, a wooden bucket lid on show in the Gray Art Gallery and Museum, Hartlepool.

11. In the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough.

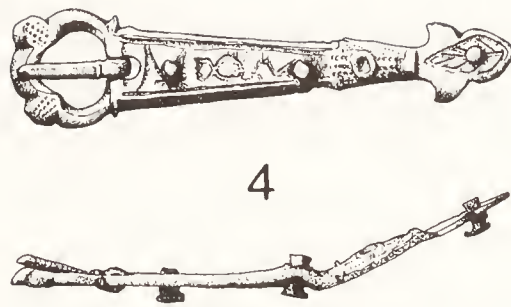


Fig. 16. Bronze buckle and strap end, 1:2.

Other Finds

Clay Pipes In 1977 several fragments were found, generally unstratified, in post-medieval contexts. Types identified ranged in date from c. 1650 to 1850, including four probably Dutch, stamped GUERZYK:GOUDA, ERNOW with a lion and crown, and ?CLAPE. Other stamped examples were of c. 1730-80 (I.O. and C.C., both on either side of the bowl); of c. 1700-80 (W.R. on either side of the spur) and H. ROW:YARM for Harrison Row, recorded in White's *Directory* for 1847-51. In 1980 the 47 fragments found ranged from 1620 to 1800, including examples stamped NO EXCISE and VER (for Verzyk of Gouda), both probably Dutch of c. 1730-50, one of 1640-60 with a fleur de lys in a diamond, H and ? on either side of the central petal, and a stem stamped RICHD. L. HOL for Richard Holmes, presumably a maker in north-east England.

Stone mortar Half of a coarse sandstone mortar with one handle and a pouring-lip still intact was found in 1977. The handle takes the form of a large bulbous rib curving out beyond the side. Dunning type 3.¹² The exterior has been heavily burnt and sooted, but this may well be post-breakage. Similar mortars were found at Northolt, Middlesex, in contexts dated to c. 1300,¹³ but there are problems with their dating, particularly in assessing how long some of these types remained in use. From the base of the well, feature 55, layer i.

Iron objects Those found in 1977 consisted of a quantity of nails, an almost complete knife and part of another, both with fragments of wooden handles and both from the well (55, layer i). They were x-rayed, but neither has cutler's marks.

Copper alloy objects Eighteen fragments were found in 1977, ten of them small unidentifiable fragments of thin sheet metal; a button cover and a spoon bowl were probably of 19th-century date.

Of particular interest is a bronze buckle and strap end, found in the upper levels in 1980 and probably a residual item, since it is a 13th or 14th-century type. The buckle (Fig. 15) has been somewhat roughly cast in one piece and has a flat back, the front surface has punched decoration and extensive areas of gilding survive.

Lead weight A single-piece moulded weight bearing a fish motif, found in 1980, is similar to examples from Boston, Hull and Lincoln. The decoration suggests a function associated with fishing. They generally occur in groups and have a general similarity to modern lead fishing weights. This example is probably residual in its 17th-century context.

The Glass The survival of glass was generally very poor. No fragments found in 1980 predated the middle phase of the sandstone buildings: all came from floor surfaces and were therefore not sealed. They included two from a 'wrythen' fluted mould-blown vessel, possibly a drinking beaker, paralleled in later 16th-century contexts at the Castle Ditch, Newcastle, or a late 15th-century globular flask. The neck of a wine bottle in bubbled green brown glass had a heavy flange and upright lip suggesting a late 17th-century date. The remaining fragments were of heavily decayed window glass.

Leather object The end of a strap or belt was pierced by four holes, three retaining bronze rivets and two with a pendant loop. This may have formed part of clothing with small chains as attachments.

Metallurgical Residues

by.

J. G. McDonnell

The limited excavation of 101 High Street, Yarm identified eight phases. The third could be described as an 'industrial phase' as evidenced by the spread of metallurgical residues. The evidence suggests that the metallurgical process or processes were carried out at the street frontage with the waste material being dumped at the rear of the plot.

In the excavation at the street frontage four features associated with the slags and residues were found. Feature 064 has been interpreted as a furnace with 057 being the associated tapping trench. The presence of ferruginous ore would support this theory. The nature of the furnace cannot be determined, i.e. whether bowl

12. Dunning, G. C. in Hurst, J. G., 'The kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex', *Med. Arch.* V (1961), 279-84; Dunning, G. C., 'Mortars' in Clarke, H. & Carter, A., *Excavations at King's Lynn 1963-1970*, *Med. Arch. Monograph* No. 7 (1977), 320-47.

13. *Ibid.*

or shaft furnace, since without any evidence of superstructure any interpretation is pure conjecture.

Contemporary with the furnace were two pits 062 and 059. The fill of 062 suggests that it was some kind of hearth, and hence may be classed under the general heading of smithing hearth, though whether its function was to work the bloom extracted from the furnace, or as a secondary smithing hearth, or some other function cannot be determined. The description 'scaley, cinder-like accretion' may be a description of hammer scale which would confirm it as a smithing hearth.

Pit 059 was smaller and lacked *in situ* burning and may, therefore, be only a waste pit rather than a hearth.

A sample of slag from Pit 062 was analysed by D. M. Tomlin. The interesting point about the analysis is the high ferric content (Fe_2O_3). In early iron smelting slags the majority of the iron content is in the form of wustite (FeO , ferrous iron). During smithing, the hearth's atmosphere is not controlled and is usually oxidizing. Therefore, during or after slag formation in the smithing the wustite (FeO) can be further oxidized to Magnetite (Fe_3O_4) or Hematite (Fe_2O_3). The analysis would suggest that the oxide is in the form of magnetite with some higher oxidized hematite present, the slag analysis would, therefore, confirm the interpretation of pit 062 as being associated with the smithing process.

Another slag specimen was taken for metallographic examination. On fracturing the sample clearly showed that it had a high iron content, most of which was in the form of Magnetite or Hematite. The oxides (and some metalliferous iron) were fused together by slag. The specimen was extremely friable and metallographic examination confirmed the heavily oxidized nature of the 'slag'. The friable nature and high iron oxide content of the specimen is not characteristic of a 'typical smithing slag'; the slag may, therefore, derive from primary smithing i.e. consolidation and refining of the bloom, or from another process, e.g. residues from carburisation. The proximity of a furnace would suggest a primary smithing activity.

The evidence from Yarm would be expected from a small-scale smithy and smelting site; clearly only complete excavation of such a site would allow a full interpretation to be made. There are no exact parallels for the site but the recent excavation at Stamford (Mahany, Burghard and Simpson 1982, 105) bears some similarity though the furnace there was better preserved.

The Animal Bone

By D. J. Rackham

A collection of just over 1200 bones was recovered in 1980. It is apparent that very little material from each period comes from well sealed layers and the bulk of the sample derives from those layers with a lot of residual material. The 196 bones from the sealed layers and those containing little derived earlier material provide a sample that is too small for analysis; however all the material from the site has been amalgamated into broad period groupings to see if any changes can be recognized irrespective of the level of contamination. It must be remembered that although the unsealed nature of a layer and the presence of pottery or artefacts derived from an earlier period throws doubt on the utility of an assemblage, since the bones themselves cannot be individually dated, they need not be discarded out of hand as unrepresentative of the period. The analysis may produce a pattern that can be shown to be unaffected by earlier material. The nature of the excavation and the analysis of the animal bones indicates that this element of the waste on site is domestic in origin. There is no evidence from the bones that the remains result from the commercial exploitation of the animals. The sample is therefore treated as domestic food refuse.

The material from all layers has been analysed within broad date categories (see Table). The samples from all periods are small. 41 per cent of the whole sample has been identified to species but only two period groups produced over 100 identified bones. This is little enough to assess the relative abundance of the species let alone any analysis of the age at death or sex of the animals represented in the sample. The discussion is therefore restricted to this aspect of the study not least because of the unsealed nature of much of the material. Despite the varying abundance of sheep (or goat) and cattle fragments in the different period groups, when the ratios of cattle to sheep (or goat) for each bone are plotted on a frequency diagram the distributions suggest that both species are equally represented, although between the early and late 17th-century material there is some suggestion of a small increase in the number of cattle relative to sheep (or goat). It is doubtful whether even this method (Rackham 1983) has merit for samples of this small size. The same method was applied to the material

from the 1977 excavations in Yarm. These show little variation from equality and it would appear that cattle and sheep carcasses are equally represented in the diet at this period. Cattle are therefore the most important animals in terms of their meat contributions. The other species except perhaps the pig, made little contribution.

The degree to which the sample is representative of the deposits can be queried upon a number of grounds. The sample size is small and recovery was by hand. The results from the 1977 excavations in Yarm indicate that marine fish were eaten. The absence of fish remains in the 1980 sample may well be due to recovery failure not real absence. The degree to which the material in the deposit represents that deposited at the time has been alluded to, the high level of residual material throwing doubt upon this aspect. With these considerations in mind it would be inappropriate to take the analysis any further than that of the relative abundance already discussed. However a complete catalogue of the material and all measurements taken is available for reference.

The material was catalogued using the Department of the Environment Computer based recording system (Jones et. al.).

YARM 1980

TABLE OF THE CATALOGUED ANIMAL REMAINS FROM EACH PHASE AT THE SITE

	15th	16th	E. 17th	L. 17th	L. 18th	Mod.	U/S
Horse, dom.	14		7	2	1	11	1
Cattle	24	6	52	51	24	15	3
Pig	6	1	11	12	1	3	
Sheep	1		6	12	1	2	
Sheep or goat	17	5	67	37	29	36	9
Dog	3		2	1		6	
Cat	2			3			
Hare					4		
Chicken			3	1	1		
Goose, dom.				2	2		3
Large mammal	8	2	19	87	9	14	5
Large ungulate	26	4	16	11	5	8	2
Small ungulate	5	2	12	5	3	6	1
Indet. mammal	20	5	67	316	22	34	2
TOTAL 1216	126	25	262	540	102	135	26

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF MONASTIC PROPERTY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: A CASE STUDY OF NOSTELL AND BRIDLINGTON PRIORIES (YORKSHIRE)

By TOBY BURROWS

The geography of monastic property in medieval England is a subject which historians have neglected. Their professional interests have led them elsewhere. Monks like Knowles and Butler were mainly interested in the spiritual side of medieval monasticism—the changing forms and inspirations of the religious life.¹ More recently, the economic role of monasteries has been emphasised. Monastic records are among the best surviving sources for the study of estate management in medieval England, and historians like J. Ambrose Raftis and Barbara Harvey have made good use of these records to assess economic conditions and trends.² But these two interests—the spiritual and the economic—have dominated the study of medieval English monastic, to the virtual exclusion of other approaches to this subject. No-one has tried to develop a new way of assessing the place of monasteries in medieval English society.

The geography of monastic property, which as yet has no status as a subject in its own right, could well provide a basis for a new, *social* history of monasticism. The property held by religious houses gives the historian the preliminary material for an assessment of monastic influence. The location, size, nature, and historical development of that property should reveal for us the extent of monastic involvement in the villages of medieval England. From these and other sources, it might then be possible to assess the role of monasteries in society, and to see them as social institutions rather than as illustrations of economic or religious developments.

The value of the geographical perspective is that it can provide a first step towards this more social understanding of medieval English monasteries. But an antiquarian flavour still clings to the geographical treatment of property. All the huge county histories compiled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were organised on a purely topographical basis, and provided great factual detail without any attempt at analysis. The geographical approach was an end in itself. But, as a tool, it has also been valuable in the study of medieval estates. William Farrer's work on baronies, honours, and fees was an early example of this; more recent studies, such as that of W. E. Wightman on the Lacy family, have used estate geography in a more analytical way.³ In comparison, the geography of monastic property remains largely untouched. Bryan Waites has provided a primarily geographical account of the monastic settlement of north-east Yorkshire, but his main concern is the region rather than the individual monasteries.⁴ It is through the study of particular religious houses, however, that the geographical approach will be of most use to monastic history.

This paper looks at the geography of the property acquired by two medieval monasteries, Nostell and Bridlington priories. They have not been chosen entirely at random: both were fairly large houses of Augustinian Canons in Yorkshire, were

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1. G. Constable, 'The study of monastic history today', in *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th Centuries)* (London, 1979), pp. 24-8.
 2. J. A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey* (Toronto, 1957); B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977).
 3. W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, 3 vols (London and Manchester, 1923-25); W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966).
 4. B. Waites, 'The monastic settlement of north-east Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* XL (1959-62), pp. 478-95.

founded at about the same time, and have left similar evidence of their activity. These two houses seem to offer a good means of examining the geography of monastic property within a particular religious grouping. They may show us whether similar situation and character were matched by similar patterns of property acquisition.

Before any comparison can be attempted, however, an important problem of definition must be resolved: the meaning of the word 'property'. The approach adopted by economic historians like Raftis and Harvey, for whom property means simply lands and rents, is inadequate and too narrow. More suitable is the wider interpretation offered by Coulton; his discussion of monastic property emphasises that parochial tithes, relics, endowments for Masses, burial rights, banking, finance, and trade were, to the medieval monastery, as much a part of its 'property' as lands and rents.⁵ But a comprehensive description of monastic property is beyond the scope of this paper. For the geographical approach, it is enough to define property as any rights of possession or jurisdiction which can be located in a particular place or area. This definition excludes such issues as whether lands were leased or directly cultivated, and whether appropriated churches were served by perpetual vicars or by stipendiary chaplains. These matters mainly concern the exploitation of monastic property; it is the acquisition of that property which is being measured here.

The pattern of property acquisition by Nostell and Bridlington priories in their earliest years showed little similarity. Most of the possessions acquired by Bridlington priory before 1140 were in the East Riding. The priory itself was situated on the coast, at the north-eastern junction of the Yorkshire Wolds and Holderness; the early property in the East Riding was divided between these two very different areas. By 1140, the priory had been given over seven carucates of land in the eastern part of the Wolds, together with the advowsons of three churches and two chapels, in a total of eleven villages. The largest estate was at Easton (in the Gypsy Race valley west of Bridlington), where nearly two carucates were acquired.⁶ The priory also received two thraves (upright bundles of corn, containing 24 sheaves each) or 2*d* from each working plough in Bridlington and Hunmanby parishes; these alms were farmed from the Beverley chapter for one mark annually.⁷ The property in Holderness, in comparison, was much more thinly spread, with a total of less than half a carucate of land, the advowsons of three churches and a chapel, in five villages, ranging from Winkton near Bridlington to Ottringham close to the Humber, over 20 miles away.⁸

The property on the Wolds was potentially of considerable value. The chalk soil was not unfavourable to arable farming, especially barley, and the Wolds were well-suited to sheep farming on a fairly large scale. But Holderness, which had showed much less waste land at the time of Domesday Book was a more closely settled area, deriving its prosperity from its many marshes, lakes, and seasonally flooded lands.⁹ A small interest there could be quite valuable. But, in any case, the priory's property at Bridlington itself was far larger than all its other early possessions; the church and fourteen carucates there had been given to the canons by 1140. This land, like that in most of the Wold villages, had been all but waste at the time of Domesday Book, and its immediate value to the

5. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, III (Cambridge, 1936).

6. *Cartulary of Bridlington Priory*—British Library, Additional MS 40008—ff. 13, 21, 159v, 162 (subsequently referred to as CB); W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters* II (Edinburgh, 1915), no. 1135 (subsequently referred to as EYC).

7. CB, f. 52; EYC, I, no. 102.

8. CB, ff. 13, 22v, 24, 159v, 229, 236v, 240, 251; EYC II, nos. 1135, 1155; III, nos. 1306, 1328, 1330, 1340, 1336.

9. B. Waites, *Moorland and Vale-Land Farming in North-East Yorkshire* (York, 1967), pp. 33-5; D. J. Siddle, 'The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness', *Agr. Hist. Rev.* XV (1967), pp. 42-5.

canons remains uncertain.¹⁰ In addition to the large estates there, Bridlington was already a centre for religious worship, for Walter de Gant (the priory's founder) gave a phylactery containing relics, which had been brought from Jerusalem, for the priory church.¹¹

The early possessions of Bridlington priory within the East Riding were dominated by Bridlington itself. Outside the Riding, the priory's property was far too small to counter this concentration. The only major gift was in Swaledale (at the western edge of the North Riding), where the canons acquired the village of Grinton, with the advowson of its church. This village was assessed at one carucate in Domesday Book, but lay in an area of large pastures and moorlands, with very little arable. The priory's other possessions outside the East Riding were a church and two chapels, with small lands, in three villages north of Scarborough in the narrow coastal belt between the North Yorkshire Moors and the North Sea. Outside Yorkshire, the priory was given the advowson of four churches and the moiety of a fifth before 1140. These extended the priory's interests to Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire.¹²

Between 1140 and 1190, Bridlington priory acquired substantial new property—the advowsons of six churches and a total of nearly 50 carucates of land. This amount is perhaps less impressive than it seems, for Gilbert de Gant (son of the priory's founder) gave the advowson of a church and almost 33 carucates between 1149 and 1154.¹³ Without his contribution, little new property was given to the priory. There is, in addition, increasing evidence that the canons were deliberately acquiring land in the later twelfth century. Perhaps as a result of this, the new property was largely concentrated on the Wolds, with 37 carucates of land and the advowson of a church acquired there. Together with grants of Wold pasture for 2500 sheep, this seems to indicate that sheep farming on a large scale was planned or already being practised there. The main centre of this sheep farming was the northern escarpment of the Wolds, overlooking the Vale of Pickering.¹⁴ The largest acquisitions of arable land were in the eastern and southern parts of the Wolds. Gilbert de Gant's gifts of the villages of Speeton (on the coast north of Bridlington) and Burton Fleming (in the Gypsy Race valley) added at least 18 carucates to the priory's lands.¹⁵

By comparison, the new property elsewhere was smaller. Only about four carucates and the advowson of the moiety of a church were acquired in Holderness, spread among ten villages, mainly in the north. But this included marshes, meadows, and fisheries—types of property which were probably of more value than arable land there.¹⁶ In the North Riding, acquisitions remained fairly small. Another four carucates in five villages near Scarborough were added to the priory's lands, with pasture for 200 sheep. More woods and pastures were acquired at Grinton in Swaledale, and the advowson of East Cowton church.¹⁷ Lincolnshire was the source of rather more new property. The possessions there, about five carucates of land and the advowsons of three churches in all, were in three main areas: on the south bank of the Humber; to the east of Lincoln; and in the extreme south-west of the county. The first group was the most important, for over two carucates were acquired in Barton upon Humber and two nearby villages.¹⁸ This

10. CB, ff. 13, 159v, 161; EYC II, no. 85; W. Page (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire II* (London, 1910), p. 197.

11. CB, f. 13; EYC II, no. 1136.

12. CB, ff. 13, 159v, 191v, 205v, 207, 209v, 263v, 325; EYC I, no. 362; II, nos. 1135, 1152; III, no. 1310; V, no. 390.

13. CB, ff. 22v, 43, 159v; EYC II, nos. 1156–7, 1166.

14. CB, ff. 59, 74v, 80, 90–1, 107; EYC II, nos. 1224–5, 1228, 1230, III, no. 11831.

15. CB, ff. 43, 159–60, 162; EYC II, nos. 1140, 1148, 1157.

16. Siddle, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–5.

17. CB, ff. 61v, 162, 191–2, 207, 217v; EYC II, nos. 1148, 1175; V, nos. 391, 394.

18. CB, ff. 43, 159v, 191–2, 269v; EYC II, nos. 1157, 1166, III, nos. 1339, 1357; V, no. 394.

property is clear evidence that the priory's interests broadened after 1140, but this was simply part of a general growth. The Wolds remained the focus of acquisition and expansion.

This trend continued between 1190 and 1260, when the priory acquired a further 17 carucates, and the advowson of a moiety of a church, in 25 villages on the Wolds. At least three of the priory's churches in this area were appropriated during this period, adding their tithes and oblations to the priory's property. Another important acquisition was the right to hold a two-day annual fair and weekly market at Bridlington.¹⁹ But the relative importance of Holderness grew noticeably, with nearly 11 carucates in 15 villages, and the appropriation of two churches.²⁰ Despite some sheep pasture on the Wolds and marshes and fisheries in Holderness, the main acquisition was arable land; there was less contrast between new property in the two areas than there had been in the twelfth century.²¹ Outside the East Riding, the priory's new possessions were also quite large. At least three churches were appropriated and almost six carucates were acquired in the North Riding, mostly on the east coast around Scarborough. Another two carucates were added to the Lincolnshire property, mainly in the south-west corner, and four churches were appropriated; one of these, however, was probably only effective for a short time.²² For the first time, the priory acquired interests in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the Ainsty and near Knaresborough; this included five hundred acres of woods and moors, as well as almost three carucates of arable land. The first mention of the priory's urban property, in York and Lincoln, also occurs in this period.²³

In the earlier thirteenth century, most of the priory's new possessions came from deliberate acquisitions, rather than gifts. Expansion took place generally, not in one area alone, and was centred in certain villages: Marton, Rudston, and Flotmanby on the Wolds; Skirlington and Fraisthorpe in Holderness; Gristhorpe on the north-east coast; Edenham in Lincolnshire; and Askham Richard in the West Riding. There is a series of charters for each of these villages, recording the care with which the priory built up its lands, often very gradually. In fact, acquisition of new property seems to have become hard work. For all its activity, the priory only succeeded in acquiring the advowson of a moiety of a church, and about 38 carucates of land, far less than in the twelfth century. The canons were rather more successful in the area of 'spiritual' property, for at least twelve churches were appropriated in the period between 1190 and 1260. Bishops and popes seem to have been more willing to grant the priory new possessions than laymen were.

On the whole, the growth of Bridlington priory's interests was continual and steady during its first 150 years, and mostly concentrated in geographical areas where the priory's earliest possessions had been situated. The history of Nostell priory's property in the same period was quite different. The earliest acquisitions (to 1135) were less concentrated than those of Bridlington priory, though the majority of the early lands was close to Nostell. The area of sandstone hills where the priory was situated had few of the economic advantages of the Wolds, and was well-suited to neither arable nor sheep farming.²⁴ The priory had over 12 carucates of land in this sandstone area by 1135, together with the advowson of eight churches, the moiety of a ninth, and a chapel. Most of this property was in villages between the rivers Calder and Dearne. The only large

19. CB, f. 163; K. J. Allison (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire, East Riding II* (London, 1974), pp. 160-1, 214, 338.

20. CB, ff. 239v, 331.

21. CB, ff. 4-10, 27-8, 233, 250.

22. CB, ff. 4-10, 62, 182-6, 202, 329v-331, 333-4; Public Record Office, S.C. 8/8/368-70; EYC II, no. 1177.

23. CB, ff. 321-3; Public Record Office, E 135/25/1, m. 2.

24. H.C. Darby and I.S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 80-1.

estate was five carucates in Rogerthorpe and 'Thorpe'; at Nostell itself, the original gift was half a carucate of land, as well as all the wood called St. Oswald's wood, which was later assarted. The priory also had a five-day fair at Nostell, from 1120 at the latest, as well as two smaller fairs at Woodkirk, north of the Calder.²⁵

Most of the priory's early property elsewhere in the West Riding lay in the southern part of the fertile lowlands of the Vale of York. About four carucates of land, with the advowson of three churches and a chapel, were acquired there, mostly in the village of Bramham; the church at Bramham was appropriated to the priory in the 1130s.²⁶ This lessened, to some extent, the effect of the comparative barrenness of the lands in the area around Nostell. The priory's dependence on its closest property probably was weakened, too, by early gifts outside the West Riding. These included over three carucates in the other two Ridings, tenements in York, lands of unspecified size in Staffordshire and Northumberland, and about half a carucate in Nottinghamshire. The priory also had more than five hides in Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Northamptonshire. The greatest variety in the type of property acquired was in Lincolnshire, where lands, mills, marshes, and food and money rents in total of six villages were given to Nostell priory before 1135. The priory also had the advowson of twelve churches and a chapel outside the West Riding; one of these churches—Wharram le Street in the East Riding—was appropriated in the 1130s.²⁷

The most remarkable aspect of this early endowment was its geographical dispersal. By 1135, Nostell priory had property in at least 64 villages in 12 counties, ranging from Bamburgh on the Scottish border, to King's Langley outside London. But it is difficult to assess the relative importance to the priory of the possessions outside the West Riding. Much of the land was in poor areas, and its distance from Nostell may have made its effective exploitation almost impossible. The large number of church advowsons given to the priory were of little immediate value in most cases; they presumably cost their donors rights of jurisdiction only, not revenue. In short, the impressive spread of Nostell priory's early property may have been fairly superficial.

In the later twelfth century, there was a marked change in the pattern of acquisition. The only new property outside the West Riding was at the cells of Breedon (Leicestershire) and Hirst (Lincolnshire), no doubt because there were canons at these places.²⁸ The priory could attract very few benefactors elsewhere outside the West Riding, and seems to have made no attempt to enlarge its possessions by purchase or lease. The property acquired between 1135 and 1190 was heavily concentrated in the West Riding, especially in the area between the Calder and Dearne rivers. There was some deliberate acquisition, notably at Sherbarrow (south of Nostell), where various parcels of lands and woods were bought to enlarge a grange. But, on the whole, the new property in the West Riding was scattered in small amounts, among over 30 villages. No new church advowsons were acquired, but four existing churches were appropriated.²⁹

These trends continued, largely unchanged, in the thirteenth century. Over seven carucates of land were added in 50 villages in the West Riding between 1190 and 1280, mainly north of Nostell near the river Dearne, and in the Vale of York. There was considerable deliberate acquisition; the area around Sherbarrow was again important, though other villages like Bramham and Swinton were also centres of expansion. Five

25. Nostell Priory, MS C 1/A/3, ff. 26-7; *Cartulary of Nostell Priory*—British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian E xix — ff. 8, 150 (subsequently referred to as CN); EYC III, no. 1428; *Regesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1958), no. 622.

26. CN, ff. 7v, 75v, 80v, 127; EYC II, nos. 1012, 1014, 1016; X, no. 2.

27. CN, ff. 75, 111-2, 114, 131; EYC II, no. 1012; D. E. Greenway (ed.), *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191* (London, 1972), pp. 17-8.

28. CN, ff. 125, 131-2; Greenway, *op. cit.*, nos. 215-20; British Library, Harleian MS 2101, f. 69.

29. CN, ff. 25-8, 73; EYC III, no. 1481; VI, nos. 116-7, 130.

more churches in this area, and a chapel, were appropriated to the priory.³⁰ Outside the West Riding, further small acquisitions were made in six villages close to the cell of Breedon, and the priory was active in renting and buying tenements in York.³¹ Nearly two carucates were acquired in Bamburgh (Northumberland) and three nearby villages, but a full conventual cell had only been established there about 1221, when the church was finally appropriated after considerable litigation.³² These possessions outside the West Riding, however, were a fairly minor part of Nostell priory's new property. It was at this time, too, that the priory probably gave up most of its early property in the Midlands and Lincolnshire, until only the cells of Breedon and Hirst, their associated lands, and Sulkholme manor (Nottinghamshire) remained.³³ By 1300, the priory's interests were almost entirely concentrated in the West Riding.

This was quite a different pattern from that of 1135. Though the early grants had given the priory property in 12 counties, this had not become the basis for further expansion. Instead, consolidation within the West Riding was characteristic of the priory's acquisitions in the later twelfth century and the thirteenth century, accompanied increasingly by contraction in the property held outside Yorkshire. The priory turned away from the possibilities of expanding its early widespread endowment and, whether by choice or necessity, adopted a much more restricted idea of its sphere of influence. Bridlington priory's interests began more modestly. The early emphasis on the East Riding and at Bridlington itself seems to have provided a solid foundation for future growth. Continual expansion took place subsequently, into various new areas as well as in the original ones.

These differences in the geographical development of the priories' property can be explained in several ways. Especially in the twelfth century, deliberate acquisition seems to have only partly affected the endowment. Other influences, on the whole, were more important. One of these was the geography of the area where the priory and its main property were situated. Bridlington priory's possessions on the Wolds had great potential for sheep and arable farming; the large tracts of land and pasture given to the priory could be easily exploited. Nostell priory had no such advantages, being situated in the middle of the sandstone hills, where the soils were poor but the pattern of settlement was dense. As the population increased in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was considerable assarting in the extensive woodlands of this area; most of this assarted land was presumably of rather poor quality. Nostell priory had assarts in at least nine villages, as well as at Nostell itself. These marginal, assarted lands were part of the priory's main estates. In contrast, few assarts in the East Riding were acquired by Bridlington priory before 1300.³⁴ The geographical area around Nostell priory clearly tended to produce less productive and more fragmented property than the Wolds did.

The location of nearby religious houses and their possessions also had an important influence on the geographical development of monastic property. Several houses close together would be competing for the generosity of benefactors and for purchases and leases. When Nostell priory was founded, there was already a fairly large Cluniac priory at Pontefract, only five miles away; 20 miles to the north-east was Selby abbey, founded by William the Conqueror. By about 1170, five more houses had been established within

30. CN, ff. 28-30, 43v, 74-6.

31. CN, ff. 94-6, 125-6; Public Record Office, E 135/25/1, m. 3; R. A. McKinley (ed.), *The Cartulary of Breedon Priory* (Manchester, 1950), pp. 56-8, 84-7, 90-1, 116-7, 120, 144; Public Record Office, Cotton MS Nero D iii, f. 88v.

32. CN, ff. 74v, 118-22, 179-81; E. Bateson, *A History of Northumberland I* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1893), pp. 75-9.

33. CN, ff. 11-2, 67, 114v.

34. CN, ff. 8, 17v, 28-9, 36, 56v, 109, 133; EYC III, nos. 1425, 1542, 1675, 1790; VI, nos. 109, 127; CB, ff. 40v, 68.

20 miles of Nostell, and another two within 30 miles. Bridlington priory, however, was the only monastery in the East Riding at its foundation. The nearest house by 1160 was a small nunnery at Nunkeeling, 15 miles south of Bridlington; four larger houses were between 20 and 30 miles away.³⁵ From its foundation, Bridlington priory had the eastern Wolds and northern Holderness largely to itself, with no competition from other houses. This presumably encouraged the growth of larger and more concentrated possessions than were possible in the area around Nostell.

Another important influence on the geography of these possessions was provided by the priories' benefactors. The early gifts to Bridlington priory followed the usual pattern for a baronial foundation. They came almost entirely from Walter de Gant and his family and tenants, with some assistance from tenants of the neighbouring honour of Holderness (held by the Count of Aumâle). But Nostell priory's earliest benefactors came from at least 15 different baronies, in addition to the honour of Pontefract, where the priory was situated. This early contrast gradually disappeared in later years. From about 1160, the endowment of both priories was dominated by the tenants of several local baronies. For Bridlington priory, this meant that its benefactors now came from a wider range of fees; the Gant barony no longer held a dominant position. In Nostell priory's case, the scope of patronage had undergone a considerable contraction since the earlier twelfth century.

These are some of the possible explanations for the differences in the geography of acquisitions by these two houses. It seems likely that these differences in their turn were connected with the social status of the priories. In the earlier twelfth century, Nostell priory was one of the leading monasteries of northern England, closely connected with Henry I and archbishop Thurstan. Athelwold, prior of Nostell for over 30 years until 1153, played a political role of some importance, especially in ensuring English influence in Carlisle; he became first bishop there, and helped to turn the cathedral chapter into an Augustinian community. Alexander I, king of Scots, brought canons from Nostell to Scone in 1120, as the first step in reforming the Church in central Scotland. One of these canons later became bishop of St. Andrews, where canons were also introduced.³⁶ Bridlington priory, at first, had nothing to compare with these high political and ecclesiastical connections. But its reputation grew gradually during the later twelfth century and the thirteenth century, under a series of scholarly and capable priors. By about 1300, its prestige seems to have been equal to, or greater than, that of Nostell priory; by that time, serious disputes with patrons and bad economic management had reduced Nostell's importance.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Nostell failed to regain its original prestige. New property was only small and scattered, except for the hospital of St. Nicholas at Pontefract, which Henry VI gave to the priory in 1438, in exchange for 20 marks' worth of land. The hospital brought with it three manors close to Nostell, and an appropriated church.³⁷ But another valuable right—a five-day fair at Breedon—was acquired in 1330 only at the expense of the fair at Nostell itself.³⁸ The priory was still of some importance as a religious centre, however; the rector of a nearby church, in 1348, left the large sum of £40 in his will for a daily Mass to be said at Nostell.³⁹

Bridlington priory's property acquisitions were as meagre as Nostell's in the fourteenth century. But, with the canonization of a former prior, St. John of

35. D. Knowles et al., *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 120, 136, 141, 162, 168, 188, 203, 205.

36. J. Wilson, 'Foundation of the Austin priories of Nostell and Scone', *Scot. Hist. Rev.* VII (1910), pp. 152-3; D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114-1140)* (York, 1964), pp. 140-50.

37. Nostell Priory, MS C 1/A/1, pp. 153-6; C 1/A/3, ff. 5v-12, 25.

38. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls* IV, p. 186.

39. York Minster Library, Torre MS L 1(8), p. 22.

Bridlington, in 1401, Bridlington became a major attraction for pilgrims. The shrine built for his body, with a royal grant, and the papal indulgence awarded to visitors, made the saint's relics among the priory's most important property. As well as the offerings from pilgrims, St. John also inspired royal generosity: Henry V granted the wealthy rectory of Scarborough church to the priory, and successive kings gave extensive and profitable legal privileges in Bridlington and the surrounding area.⁴⁰ After centuries of steady growth, Bridlington priory had reached the peak of its prestige and remained there until at least the middle of the fifteenth century.

It would be a mistake to attribute the reversed fortunes of Bridlington and Nostell priories simply to different patterns of property acquisition. Although Bridlington's property had expanded in scope up to 1300 and Nostell's had contracted, this contrast has little connection with Bridlington's later success. St. John and his relics are a reminder that medieval English monasteries were still important as religious institutions in the fifteenth century, and that their 'property' covered a wide range of possessions. But the value of the geographical perspective is not affected by these observations. It is a measure of changes in the extent and location of a monastery's property, not a causal explanation of monastic social and economic history.

This study has shown that, between two monasteries of similar size, location, age, and religious grouping, there was considerable variation in the pattern of property acquisition. By examining different Orders, different areas, and different-sized houses, this method could, in the future, tell us much about the distribution of monastic property in medieval England. The material provided by this geographical approach might then serve as a source for a new assessment of the changing place of monasteries in medieval English society.

40. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry IV, I*, p. 356; *Henry V, I*, p. 153; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls V*, pp. 331-2; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters V*, pp. 458-60.

A CIVILIAN EFFIGY IN BIRKIN CHURCH, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By RICHARD KNOWLES

On the flat lands north-east of Ferrybridge stands the fine apsidal Norman church of Birkin. Not the least of its fine treasures is a cross-legged effigy of a civilian, located within an arched recess in the north wall. This effigy seems to have attracted only brief notice by the topographical writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,¹ and even this of an arbitrary nature. No doubt on the spurious evidence of the crossed legs it is generally stated to be of a Knight Templar, a refugee from nearby Temple Hurst, and even in one recent less observed example² as of a lady. Pevsner³ however does realise it is a civilian, and states that it is 'early 14th century with unusually bold unconventional drapery'.

Recently, the pews that formerly abutted the recess containing the effigy have been removed, and it is now possible to view it more clearly. The effigy is carved from a fine magnesian limestone, deep bedded and of a golden hue. The head, which is bare with the hair well shown falling in graceful curls, rests on a double cushion, the upper being placed diagonally upon the lower. He is indeed shown as a civilian, dressed in an exceedingly graceful gown split up the front to just above the knee and falling to below mid-calf. This gown has voluminous sleeves that reach to just below the elbow, beneath which can be seen sleeves of an undertunic buttoned to the wrist. The hands are bare and hold either a heart or a reliquary. The left leg is crossed over the right and they are clad in tight hose, with shoes on which can be seen details of the side lace fastenings. On the protected side of the right leg and shoe can be seen slight faint traces of what may be original red pigment. The feet rest upon a dog that is full of life and character. Its left paw curls around the edge of the slab, whilst the right folds beneath its body. One ear is perked up and rests upon the left foot of the civilian. It is immediately apparent that this effigy exhibits a number of traits which make it above average in quality, and which call for a re-appraisal of this monument. The curled hair, the gown with sleeves, a drapery treatment with realistic deeply 'ruched' folds⁴ similar in style to the representations seen in certain manuscript illuminations of the early fourteenth century, together with the natural treatment of animal detail, all indicate one highly individual York workshop.

In 1980 an attempt was made at a classification of early Yorkshire effigies.⁵ In this classification the Birkin effigy was placed in Group C, with some twelve other effigies which include the early knight and lady at Ryther and the lady at Church Fenton. A study of the Birkin effigy shows this workshop ascription to be untenable, and with little doubt

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1. *Churches of Yorkshire*, Vol. I, Leeds 1845. p. 15, description of Birkin church by the Rev. George Ayliffe. C. Forrest *The History and Antiquities of Knottingley*, Knottingley 1861. p. 86. Johnnie Grey (H. Speight) *Through Airedale from Goole to Malham*, Leeds 1891, p. 24. Ella Pontefract *The Charm of Yorkshire Churches*, Leeds n.d. p. 59.
 2. J. Ogden *Yorkshire's River Aire*, Lavenham 1976.
 3. Nicolas Pevsner *Yorkshire, The West Riding*, 1959, p. 105.
 4. See also Paul Binski, "Chartham, Kent, and the Court", *Monumental Brass Society Transactions*, XIII Pt. 1 (1980), pp. 73-79. In this British Library MS Arundel 83 is used for dating the Chartham brass to the early years of the fourteenth century. However, similar drapery style is used in manuscripts later in the fourteenth century, see "The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux" Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Cloisters Collection MS 54.1.2, c. 1325, illustrated in John Harthan "Books of Hours" 1977. p. 42.
 5. Brian and Moira Gittos "A Classification of Early Yorkshire Effigies" *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments, Bulletin* 3, (1980), pp. 53-57.



Plate 1. Civilian effigy Birkin, c. 1328



Plate 2. Detail, Birkin



Plate 3. Norton-on-Tees, c. 1326

the Birkin effigy originates from the workshop that I'Anson⁶ calls the 'Cheyne Atelier' and which the Gittos have with some additions as their Group B.⁷ There are positively eight military effigies that can be associated with this workshop. All of these display features unique to themselves, these being the sleeved gown with fine deeply 'ruched' drapery style, and five of the eight have the coif of mail thrown back off the head revealing curling locks of hair that fall over the ears. These features are found in no other English effigies and indeed they combine with a number of other exceptional attributes, detail of straps and buckles on the reverse of the shields, and fine exciting animal detail is included at the feet of the figures. In addition, on a number of them, there is the inclusion of a praying bedesman or lady next to the warrior's legs. It is outside the scope of this paper to place attributions to these effigies. However, I'Anson did much valuable work on identifications, and despite earlier criticism⁸ of post-dating his dates are firm enough to use here, and seem more in line with current thinking since the recent work on the re-dating of our early English brasses.⁹ The eight effigies are Amotherby c. 1329, Bedale c. 1308, East Harlsey c. 1326, Escrick c. 1324, Goldsborough c. 1333, Howden c. 1320, Norton-on-Tees c. 1326¹⁰ and Temple Church, London c. 1316. These dates are the

6. William I'Anson "The Mediaeval Military Effigies in Yorkshire", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXVIII and XXIX (1924-29); pp. 345-79, 1-67.

7. Gittos *op. cit.*, in n. 5, p. 55.

8. J. G. Mann "An appreciation of the late I'Anson's work . . .", *Y.A.J.* XXIX, (1929), 232-6.

9. Malcolm Norris *Monumental Brasses The Memorials I*, 1977. pp. 9-11.

10. For this effigy and date see C. H. Hunter-Blair "Mediaeval Effigies in the County of Durham", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, VI, 1929. p. 257.



Plate 4. East Harlsey. c. 1326

approximate date of death of the ascriptions, and if accepted would seem to indicate that the Bedale effigy had been placed in the church some years after the death of Brian Fitz Alan in 1308. It is impossible after having seen the Norton effigy to agree with Lawrence Stone¹¹ when he states his view that this effigy is an imitation of the style by another workshop. It bears all the traits of its fellows and indeed, despite the sixteenth-century alterations to the heraldry on the main shield, it may be regarded the finest surviving product of the workshop. It was the mysterious 'I' and three links of a chain rebus on this effigy which led I'Anson to name the workshop the 'Cheyne Atelier'. No other evidence would seem to support this claim¹² and it seems more appropriate to refer to the workshop as of the 'Sleeve-Master'. The effigy at the Temple Church should not be seen as any indication of London influence as this effigy was removed from Kirkham Priory in 1682.¹³

There are three further effigies that can be linked with this workshop and can be positively identified by the drapery style and, in the case of the military figures, the reverse of the shield detail. These are the associated lady at Howden, and the two Vavasour military effigies at Hazlewood Castle, which I'Anson dates c. 1330. These latter two effigies, which are very similar in style and date, have the same long gowns with the elegant 'ruched' fold drapery, but here without sleeves in the more conventional English representation. This concludes the so far positively identifiable products of this one workshop. They are all carved from magnesian limestone, and with one exception were all originally located close to the Vale of York. As has already been stated, no other effigies in the country are comparable. The workshop must have been situated in or near York using the local fine stone, but certain of the workshop traits find no parallel in any other York workshops. The crossed legs are, of course, a feature of English effigies, and

11. Lawrence Stone *Sculpture in Britain, The Middle Ages*, 1955. p. 257.

12. The name John Cheyne does not appear in the York Freemen's Rolls, Register of the Freemen of York, I, *Surtees Society*, 96, 1897.

13. *The New View of London*, 1708. p. 574.

were an artistic convention adopted to give life and movement to the drapery, but the thrown-back coif of mail and the sleeved gown can only be found combined elsewhere on contemporary effigies in France.¹⁴ In the case of the bared head this is only occasionally met with, most notably on the Chartham brass, Kent.¹⁵ At present evidence does not exist to take any hypothesis further, but the similarities remain intriguing. The influence that gave rise to such effigies of excellence in Yorkshire appears to have been brief and the surviving results few in number. However, at Birkin one further product of the workshop would seem to survive.

If we are prepared to accept the date range of the military effigies, and the balance of evidence suggests that we should, then the civilian at Birkin must date to a period c. 1320-1330. The effigy is by necessity much less ornate than its military fellows. However, the gown is in fact almost identical to its military counterparts and the overall effect of the effigy is no less impressive. The simplest of the military effigies is the one at East Harlsey, and it is to this that the Birkin effigy is most tellingly compared. Due to the lack of evidence in the way of heraldry and inscription upon the effigy itself, it is impossible to establish a firm identification. It is, however, known that the Everingham family held Birkin in the fourteenth century¹⁶ and it is within this principal family one should perhaps seek the owner of this fine quality effigy.

Roger Dodsworth¹⁷ visited the church on the 16th July 1622 and, whilst recording arms of a number of families including the Everinghams in the glass, does not mention the effigy although he does record an inscription in the glass, of the south window 'Orate pro animates Everingham, militis, et Alicie, uxoris ejus'. We are, however, more fortunate in the notes of James Torre¹⁸ who came to Birkin later in the seventeenth century. He records 'In an arch within the North wall is an old monument whereon lies the effigies of a Knight cross legged with a lion at his feet'. Torre is perhaps not at his most observant referring to a lion at the feet, but we do have confirmation that the effigy was in the north wall recess by the seventeenth century. Torre then goes on to relate of the founding of a chantry in Birkin church:-

'At Christmas, 1328 (2nd Edw. III) there was a chantry founded in this church by John Everyngham Lord of Byrkyn, for one priest to celebrate for his soul in the chapel of St. Trinity, who granted upon that account to Adam Brown, Chaplen and his successors so celebrating daily for ever, one messuage and one oxgang of land containing 9 acres with a parcel of meadow thereunto adjoining in his Lordship of Birkin, also 27 acres of land in Paleystokkgne, 30 acres in Thomstokying on the north side, and 4 acres of land in Stokyns in Smethall.'

Significantly there is in 1328 an Inquisition Post Mortem¹⁹ for 'Johes de Everyngham, pro quodam capellano, Birkyn maner 71 acres terr imb, Ebor.' There is also confirmation of the chantry foundation in the Patent Rolls of Edward III dated 28th July 1329:-²⁰

'Licence for the alienation in Mortmain by John de Everyngham of a messuage, seventy one acres of land and five acres of meadow in Birkyn to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the parish church there for the souls of Robert de Everyngham, the late parson; the said John and Beatrice his wife, Adam de Everyngham of Laxton, Lucy de Everyngham and their ancestors.'
By fine 5 marks Ebor.'

14. Jean Adhemar *Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gagnieres*, Tome I, Paris 1974. See particularly number 530 p. 99. Although curiously the French effigy workshops never seem to have adopted the crossed leg artistic style so favoured by their English counterparts.

15. Binski *op. cit.*

16. Charles Clay (Ed.) "Early Yorkshire Families", *YASRS CXXXV*, (1973). p. 6.

17. Roger Dodsworth "Yorkshire Church Notes 1619-1631", *YASRS XXXIV*, (1904), pp. 145-146.

18. York Minster Library, Torre MS, L1(8), Archdeaconry of York 1691, fo. 373-376.

19. *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetarum*, Vol. II, 1808. p. 21 num. 132.

20. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1327-1330*, London 1891 p. 418, also The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals Etc. in the County of York, II, *Surtees Society*, 92, 1893, p. 555.

Certain it is that the south aisle of Birkin church survives added to the church *c.* 1330,²¹ with its piscina marking the site of the altar formerly in the chantry chapel. It seems a distinct possibility that the fine effigy may commemorate John de Everingham who, it seems, died *c.* 1328, and that it may have originally stood within the chantry chapel in the south aisle upon a tomb chest.²² If this were so, the effigy seems to have been removed to its present position at some date between the final dissolution of the chantries in 1547 and the visit of James Torre to make more room in the south aisle, the tomb chest panels being disposed of. The heart between the hands may indicate a heart burial²³ or may more likely represent a reliquary or heart and have a religious significance of which we are now unaware.

In conclusion this paper has attempted to clarify the date of the Birkin effigy, to establish a twelfth known product of the workshop of the 'Sleeve Master', and to indicate that much work remains to be done on a classification of our Yorkshire effigies.

21. Pevsner *op. cit.*

22. It is probable that most of the effigies from the workshop had originally a form of tomb chest. Drawings survive of the one formerly at Bedale, one side illustrated in Roger Gale *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* 1722, p. 242.; the other some hundred years later in Edward Blore *Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons*, 1826. A mere fragment of this survives today as part of a monument to a priest, obscured behind the organ. At Howden the sides of the tomb chest survive, but associated with a different effigy. At Amotherby also a tomb chest panel seems to survive in the churchyard.

23. Charles A. Bradford *Heart Burial*, 1933. p. 55.

‘FULL OF IMAGEIS’: THE RIPON ALABASTERS

By PAULINE E. SHEPPARD ROUTH

The fact that in 1567 there were ‘in a howse within a vawte of the said church yet remainynge reserved vj great tables of alablaster full of imageis . . .’¹ argues a rebellious and intransigent spirit of a high order in the clergy of the church at Ripon, as the statute proscribing such superstitious imagery had been passed in 1550.² In the intervening years the Protestant Edward VI, who had banished all ecclesiological paraphernalia savouring of Popery, had been succeeded by his Roman Catholic half-sister Mary, who desired its reinstatement. Whatever had survived the Edwardian iconoclasm was again in jeopardy at Mary’s death and the accession of her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, in 1558. And yet nine years later, here at Ripon were six alabaster reredoses apparently still intact in their hiding place.

*29 Oct. 1567 Office against Thomas Blackburne, Richard Tirrie, Ninian Atkinson, Christopher Bawdersbie, John Carver alias Brownflet, vicars of the church of Ripon . . . on a night toke the keies of the church from one John Daie the sacristane ther, and that night all the imageis and other trumperie were conveighed furthe of the said church and bestowed by the said vicars where it is not knowen . . .*³

The following February, one of the vicars mentioned, Thomas Blackburn, was indicted of the charge that ‘he hayth conveyed certayne images out of the church of Ryppon afforesaid or at least haythe ben privy to the conveyinge therof to be kepte and reserved contrary to the lawes of this realme’.⁴ Blackburn had been incumbent of the chantry of St. John the Evangelist and St. John Baptist, one of the nine chantries in the church certified at the Dissolution,⁵ and also Sub-treasurer of the church, having custody of ‘all Goodes Ornamentes plate and Jewelles belonginge to the same Church’, as well as the revenues.⁶

In August 1568 a commission was issued to John Bucke, one of the canon prebendaries, and others, to search out *images and other ornamentes and monuments of idolitrie supposed to be reserved and kept in store within the towne and paryshe of Rippon, and exhibited a schedule wherein ar conteyned the images etc. that they have founde owte with the names of the persons as had the custody, and the houses etc. where they were found. To deface and burn the images etc. in the house of Ralph Bell (one of the commissioners) at Ripon, and to certify.*⁷ As the commission was several times renewed, it seems that Ripon was indeed reluctant to deliver up its ‘images’, and went to great pains to prevent their discovery.

Thomas Blackburn for his sins, real and imaginary, against the Reformed church, had to make public confession in the church, and renounce and beg forgiveness for ‘evell and superstitious dealinges, being penytent therefore’.⁸

In 1569 the ill-starred rebellion, widely supported in the north, aimed at bringing back the old faith, must have roused a fleeting hope in Thomas Blackburn’s recalcitrant breast, for in 1571 he appeared again before the ecclesiastical court at York, and ‘For hearinge

1. From a Visitation book of Archbishop Young. *Memorials of Ripon*. Vol. III. Surtees Society LXXXI. 1886. p.344.

2. J. R. Tanner, *Constitutional documents A.D. 1485-1603*. 1922. pp. 114, 115.

3. *Memorials of Ripon*. *op.cit.* p.344.

4. From the Books of H.M. High Court of Commission at York. *Memorials of Ripon*. *op.cit.* p.346.

5. *Ibid.* p.20.

6. *Ibid.* p.25.

7. *Ibid.* p.348.

8. *Ibid.* p.347.

Masse in the Rebellion tyme, and other Papisticall servyce' was fined £6.13.4d., and had to do penance.⁹

The 'great tables of alabaster full of imageis' were series of panels framed in wood, forming the retables or reredoses of various altars in the church. They were composed of high-relief carved panels representing the Life of a Saint, the story of Christ's Passion, or the Joys of the Virgin, flanked by statuettes of saints. The number of 'episodes' or panels, varied; five or seven was the most usual arrangement, but there could be more. In the Virgin series might be the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Coronation. The Adoration of the Magi was interchangeable with the Nativity, and the Assumption might replace the Coronation. Christ's Passion could include the Entry into Jerusalem, the Betrayal, the Mocking, the Scourging, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition from the Cross, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and the Appearance to Mary Magdalene, or only a selection of these. The Resurrection was common to both Passion and Virgin series, but the Ascension appeared only as one of the Joys of the Virgin.

In spite of the persistent searching out and destruction of the 'monuments of idolitrie', thanks to Thomas Blackburn and similar supporters of the old ways, a tiny part of the wealth of alabaster imagery at Ripon did survive. There remained in the Cathedral two single panels, and an episcopal figure, which, it is thought, were hidden away for two hundred years or more in the North-west tower, eventually being brought down and placed in the Chapter House.¹⁰ In the 1960s the panels were mounted in wooden frames, and the statuette in a small wooden housing, and thereafter displayed in the Library.

The single figure is 14½ ins. high (49.53 cm.), and the flat back shews the repairs to two complete breaks, one across the neck, the other diagonally across the body. Two plugs remain, the upper one with a wire loop. The figure (Plate 1) is traditionally that of St. Wilfrid, seventh-century Bishop of York and Abbot of Ripon, and with St. Peter, dedicatory saint of the Cathedral. He is depicted in vestments of off-white and gold, carries a processional staff in his left hand, and raises his right in blessing. Hooked over his right forearm is a P-shaped instrument of some interest, hitherto unidentified. It seems possible to the writer that this represents the *Seintwilfrideburningeyron* which figures frequently in the Fabric Rolls as a source of church revenue, certainly throughout the 15th century, and well into the 16th.¹¹ It seems to have been used to brand cattle as a charm against disease, the animal's owner paying the church for the protection. What imbued the burning iron with such an odour of sanctity is not recorded, but it has been conjectured that it had been used originally as an instrument of ordeal.¹² Ripon Minster had been granted the right to hold a consistory court, and to submit offenders to trial by ordeal of fire and water, but whether the instrument, though bearing his name, had any actual connection with St. Wilfrid himself, does not appear.

This figure of the Saint may have been associated with a reredos made for the chantry dedicated to him, though we know there was also a representation of him in the nave of the church. At least two wills stipulate the burial of the testator before the image of St. Wilfrid, the first in 1488 of John Gregson, 'capellanus', the other in 1505 of Geoffrey Scharroke, 'cordewener' (shoemaker).¹³

The panels remaining are two from a Joys of the Virgin series; a Resurrection of Christ, and a Coronation of the Virgin, and may have been part of a reredos on the altar of the chantry of Our Lady in the church. They each measure 14½ ins. (49.53 cm.) high

9. *Ibid.* p.348.

10. Letter from Canon Ashworth to the author. March 14th. 1977.

11. *Memorials of Ripon. op.cit.* pp. 104, 112, 122, 127, etc. etc.

12. *Ibid.* p.167n.

13. *Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon A.D.1452 to A.D.1506.* Surtees Society. LXIV. (1874) pp.285, 306.



Plate 1.

Ripon: alabaster figure of St. Wilfrid.



Plate 2. Ripon: alabaster panel of the Resurrection

by 10 ins. (25.4 cm.) across, and are of the type known as 'embattled'—that is, a crenellated forward-and-upward-projecting canopy is depicted above the main subjects. They can be dated to the late 14th or early 15th century. Examples of this type of panel can still be found on the Continent, though it cannot be determined which were exported at the time of production, and which surreptitiously shipped overseas at the Reformation. Several of the few embattled panels remaining in England seem to have been discovered in Yorkshire, and though the Nottingham workshops were the most prolific producers of alabaster panels, it is just possible that these were the work of York craftsmen. As the York Freeman's Rolls testify, there were several alabasterers in the city, though apparently not until the fifteenth century.¹⁴

The Ripon panels appear to have had their colour 'restored', probably in Victorian times. The Resurrection portrays five figures (Plate 2). The sepulchre is represented as an open tombchest from which the risen Christ steps, a rather large right hand raised high in blessing. In his left, he holds a cross staff with a white pennon outlined in red, and bearing a small red cross. The nimbus behind the head is no longer evident. Hair and curled beard

14. *Register of the Freeman of the City of York from the City Records*, Vol. 1. 1272-1558. Surtees Society. XCVI. 1896: 'alabasterers' pp.177, 183, 185, 187, 194, 213, 246; 'marblers' p.142.

are painted brown; face, limbs and torso in flesh-tones. The spear-thrust is shewn as a red gash on the right side, and the marks of the nails similarly on the hands. He wears a loin cloth, and the shroud hangs like a cloak from the shoulders. Three soldiers are depicted in late 14th/early 15th century plate armour, pointed bascinet on the head, gauntlets on the hands, the body armour covered by a short pleated surcoat or jupon, belted at the waist, and having long loose sleeves. The armour is painted black, and the faces have acquired red lips and cheeks. His poleaxe lying alongside, one soldier is recumbent on the dark green foreground which is powdered with white daisy-type flowers. This is certainly the traditional colouring for panel foregrounds, and may be the original pigment, or perhaps sufficient survived to make possible an accurate though undesirable restoration. The soldier raises himself on his right elbow and rests his chin on his hand. His surcoat is red, as is that of the soldier leaning behind the tomb on Christ's right. The third soldier sits on the other end of the tomb, holding his poleaxe between his knees, and turning his head to gaze at the risen Christ. His surcoat is painted blue. The presence of a fourth soldier is indicated only by the pointed top of his bascinet behind and between Christ and the third soldier.

Most medieval representations of the Resurrection depict four soldiers in accordance with Scripture:

*Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part . . .*¹⁵

*So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch . . .*¹⁶

These citations were exemplified in the medieval mystery plays. The York cycle prefaces Play 38 with: *Jesus resurgens de sepulcro quatuor militis armati*.¹⁷

Though this is true of most alabaſter Resurrection panels, embattled or not, some have only three soldiers, and the stone-carved Easter sepulchres of medieval days are equally undecided. Three soldiers figure on those at Patrington, East Riding (now Humberside); Navenby, Lincolnshire; and on a fragment at Fledborough in Nottinghamshire. Four appear at Hawton and Sibthorpe, Nottinghamshire; Heckington, Lincolnshire and in Lincoln Cathedral.

The Ripon Resurrection panel has sustained a diagonal break across it, and this has been repaired by the placing of a large rectangular 'plate' set in plaster or cement on the back.

The Coronation panel portrays the sitting figures of the Virgin and Our Lord (Plate 3). They both have reddened lips and wear gold crowns. Behind the heads close examination reveals fragmentary evidence of nimbi carved in very low relief. The Virgin has fair hair and wears a red robe under a voluminous blue mantle edged with gold. Her shoes are red. Her disproportionately large hands are raised in prayer, as she turns towards Christ, who again has brown hair and beard. His robe, belted at the waist, is blue; his mantle, red, under which his bare feet can be seen. His large right hand is extended in blessing over the Virgin in just the same gesture as that shewn in the Resurrection, and his left clasps a golden orb or globe against his side. The foreground is the characteristic green, powdered with white-petalled flowers. This panel has again been broken across and repaired with 'plating' at the back, but this is small enough to shew two original plugs remaining, one with a wire loop.

The two panels and the statuette of St. Wilfrid were shewn in the York Festival Exhibition of 1954.¹⁸

Among the interesting collection of fragments at Preston in Holderness are two Resurrections and a Coronation. The former have lost their embattled canopies, but their

15. John 19. v.23.

16. Matthew 27. v.66.

17. J. S. Purvis, *The York cycle of mystery plays, a complete version*. 1957. p.312.

18. City of York Art Gallery, *Catalogue of English medieval alabaster carvings*. 1954. nos. 36, 55, 82.



Plate 3. Ripon: alabaster panel of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary

original existence can be deduced from the fact that the Coronation is complete. There are differences in detail between the two sets, but the overall likenesses make it probable that one workshop was responsible for both the Preston and the Ripon panels.

In 1896 an addition to the Ripon collection was made. This was, as Philip Nelson, an authority on alabaster tables, described it in 1919:¹⁹ 'In the vestry of Ripon Cathedral is preserved a small fragment being the upper left-hand corner of a panel depicting a scene from a St. John Baptist reredos. Within an embattled wall are the crowned figures of Herod and Herodias: the former has his hands before him placed palm to palm, whilst the latter, who is veiled, thrusts her knife into the forehead of the Baptist above the right eye. The head rests upon a charger which was formerly held by Salome, who stood upon the spectator's right. Beneath Herod is a male attendant.' This had been mentioned ten years earlier as being with the complete panels and the figure of St. Wilfrid in a case in the Chapter House.²⁰ By 1942 the case was displayed in the Library.²¹ In 1954 the Baptist

19. P. Nelson, 'Some fifteenth-century English alabaster panels', *Archaeological Journal*. 76. 1919. p.133.

20. C. Hallett, *Ripon*. (Bell's Cathedral Series) 1909. p.124.

21. A. Mee, *West Riding*. (King's England Series) 1942. p.306.

fragment accompanied the other pieces to the York Exhibition,²² and in 1966 was loaned to Ripon's own Museum department.²³ Presumably it was around this time that the other panels were framed and hung on the Library wall.

The Baptist fragment (Plate 4) is six inches across (15.24 cm.) at the widest part. Traces of original pigment remain: some gilding on the background, on the crowns and on what survives of Salome's hair on the right-hand edge; black on Herod's beard; brown on the attendant's; light brown on John's hair and beard, and also on the embattled parapet. On the reverse of the fragment is the legend: 'The Head of John the Baptist brought in a charger before Herod and Herodias/Dug up in the Ripon Cathedral Burial Ground/Given back to the Cathedral by The Misses Cross 1896'.

The panel of which this is all that survives would be one of a series dedicated to the life of St. John the Baptist, which may have included representations of his Nativity or Naming, the Baptism of Christ in Jordan, John preaching in the wilderness and his Beheading. Possibly the reredos had graced the altar of the chantry dedicated to St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, of which our old friend, Thomas Blackburn, was the last incumbent.

In Ripon's Thorpe Prebend House Museum was housed part of an alabaster Entombment panel. A brief guide to the Museum of c.1935²⁴ notes it as being in the Long Room, and says: 'This alabaster fragment, of which the lower half is missing (it would probably shew a small figure crouching in the left hand corner) and with only faint traces of its original colour, is still artistically one of the best things in the museum.' When the Museum closed in 1957, this item found a new home at the Wakeman's House, and was later joined by the Baptist fragment. Both were reclaimed by the Cathedral in 1983.

The Entombment forms part of a Passion series of panels, and shews Christ being laid in a sarcophagus or tomb-chest (Plate 5). He has an ornately curled beard, and the torse round his long curled hair retains traces of dark pigment. There are six figures remaining round the tomb, three men and three women. The bearded figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are at head and foot, and behind the latter is the cleanshaven St. John, the Beloved Disciple. Mary, the mother of Jesus, her hair veiled and with hands clasped in prayer, is in the centre. On the background traces of gold and red colouring remain.

As Mary Magdalene is almost invariably shewn on Entombment panels sitting in the foreground, her alabaster box of ointment alongside her, it is quite possible that her portrait has been lost along with the rest of this panel. Accepting that this is the case, the women on either side of the Virgin, who have flowing curled hair, and turn in attitudes of sympathy towards her, probably represent 'the other Mary' and Salome, the mother of James and John.

The panel fragment is in two pieces; one is 7½ inches (19.03 cm.) at its widest part, and 9½ inches (24.11 cm.) at its longest; the other is respectively 5½ inches (13.95 cm) by 9 inches (22.86 cm.) The back is partly hollowed away, and clearly shews where six holes have been drilled through at some time in the past, presumably for purposes of displaying the pieces. What appears to be an original plughole also remains, but this can of course only be seen at the back.

It cannot be said with any certainty that the Ripon alabasters could have been, or were not, carved in the same workshop, as the Resurrection and Coronation are so heavily painted as to make comparison difficult. The Baptist and Entombment fragments, having lost almost all their original pigment, shew better the quality level of the carving. Although alabaster panels eventually became almost a mass-production industry, the

22. Catalogue *op.cit.* no. 94.

23. Letter from Canon Ford to the author, November 7th. 1983

24. Numbered 1417, and in the possession of the author.



Plate 4. Ripon: fragmentary alabaster panel of St. John the Baptist's head, Herod and Herodias



Plate 5. Ripon: fragmentary alabaster panel of the Entombment of Christ

carver-craftsmen had a not inconsiderable expertise, and the works that are left are attractive to those interested in medieval life and craftsmanship.

After four hundred years of vicissitude Ripon's 'great tables of alabaster full of imageis' are reduced indeed, but it is well that what remains is preserved under the roof of its mother church.

The writer is indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, and to Canon David G. Ford in particular, for access to the collection, and for information on its recent history.

RESTORATION WORK AT MARKENFIELD HALL, 1981-4

By JOHN SINCLAIR MILLER

Although the magnificence of its setting remained unspoilt and Markenfield Hall continued to present the external appearance of a large fortified manor house, until a few years ago, its dilapidated interior, unoccupied and unfurnished since the early sixties, must have disappointed many of the members of the Society who visited it. Extensive renovations, executed for the 7th Lord Grantley between 1981 and the early part of 1984 have now largely remedied this and, also provided an opportunity to study the structure in detail and to investigate a number of points about its original medieval form which were in question. In this Lord Grantley has had the help and advice of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, particularly of Mr. John Weaver and of the late Mr. Roy Gilyard-Beer F.S.A., who, living locally, was able to visit the work regularly until his untimely death in February 1984. Mr. Gilyard-Beer had intended to publish a full scale study in this journal—Mr. Weaver still hopes to do this—but, in the meantime, this short note of some of the more important discoveries may prove of interest.

Markenfield Hall, for which a licence to crenellate was issued by Edward II in 1310, was probably completed (with the exception of the great kitchen which dates from the early 15th century) before John de Markenfield's death in 1323. It continued as the home of the Markenfield family until it was forfeited to Elizabeth I after the Rising of the North. She sold it to her Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, who made considerable alterations and added the present gatehouse. Sir Fletcher Norton, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons, bought it from the Egertons, and on his retirement from that office in 1783 was created the 1st Baron Grantley of Markenfield. He seems to have been responsible for some fairly drastic alterations to the interior and for reconstructing most of the roofs. Further alterations were made in the 1850's by the 4th Lord Grantley and, although J. R. Walbran advised him, the plan was further confused and much medieval work was covered up. Only minor alterations were made to the main structure between 1850 and 1981, but the lower range on the east side of the courtyard was converted into a farmhouse in 1960.

Among the major medieval houses in the North of England, Markenfield Hall is remarkable in that there have been few additions since its completion and none that in anyway obscured its original form and character. Internally also such spaces as the Great Hall and the Chapel still retain their original size and shape. As the home of an important public servant (John de Markenfield was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1310 when he obtained his licence),¹ it is a large house, well thought out for aspect and convenience, and although no fortress, its defences are carefully planned and show familiarity with the systems adopted in the Welsh castles, for instance in the rectangular courtyard completely surrounded by a moat and buildings, and in the outer wall and ditch, the line of which can still be seen on the north and west sides and has been traced on the south and east by Mrs. Le Patourel who has also identified the position of an outer gatehouse with an approach from the former Ripon—Ripley—Leeds Road (the predecessor of the A.61) which the Hall overlooks (Fig. 1).

1. Miss M. E. Mauchline, of Ripon, has made some study of John de Markenfield's career based on earlier work by Miss E. M. Walker.

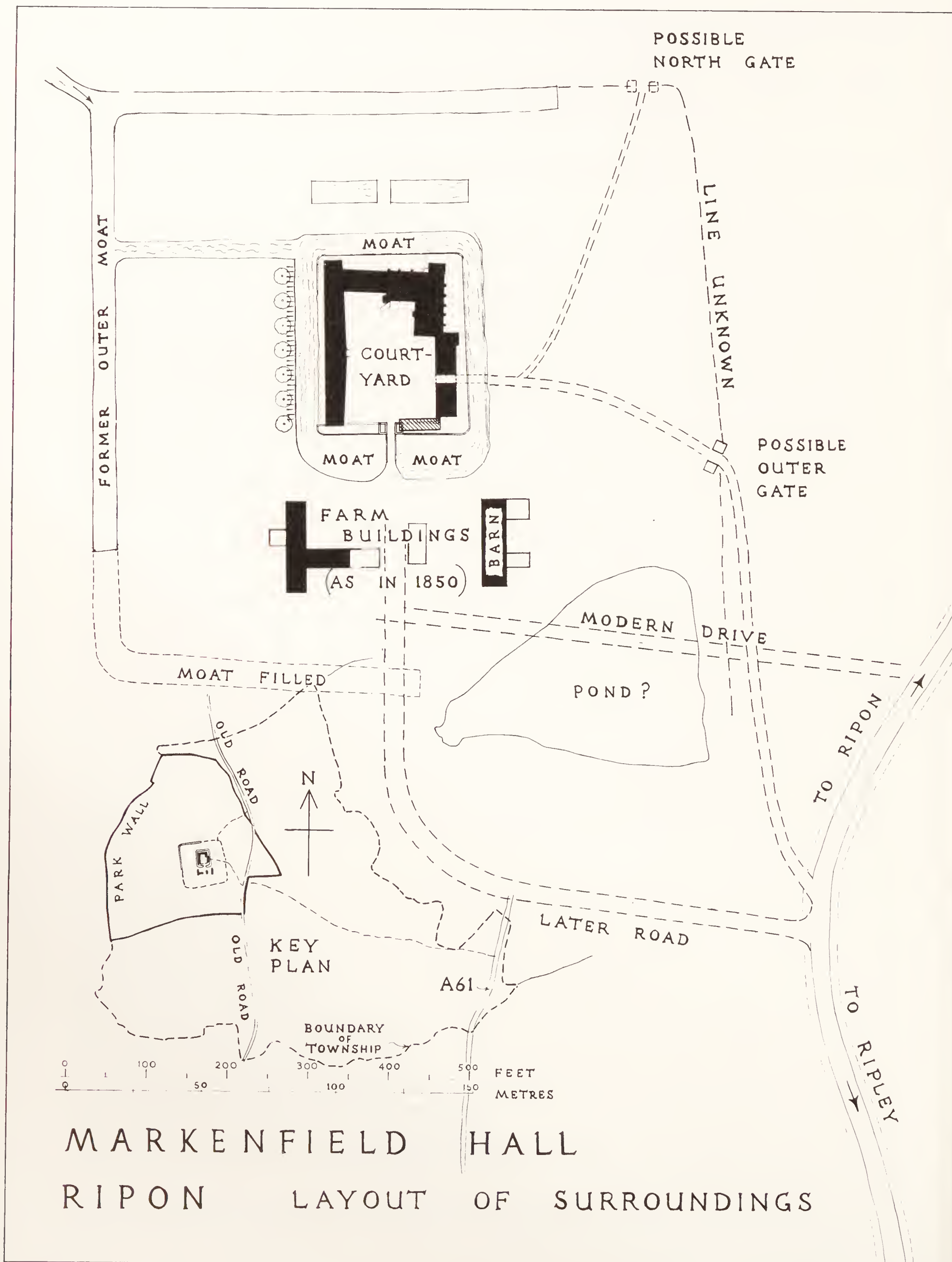


Fig. 1

The restoration comprised the rehabilitation of the east wing of the main building as a home for Lord and Lady Grantley, the cleaning and repair of the walls and roof of the Great Hall and of its undercroft and the conversion of the medieval kitchen (already subdivided in Elizabethan times by an inserted first floor and into small rooms in the eighteenth century) into a self-contained cottage. As well as structural repairs and the necessary modernisation the aim was to expose as much as possible of the original medieval work. The main points noted during the restoration are summarised below:-

1. *Levels*

The present ground level in the courtyard has been raised about 2 ft. above the original levels, judging by the plinth which is almost completely buried. The level of the berm has also been raised by about the same amount. The plinth follows carefully the projections of the buttresses, the staircase turret and the garderobe, and it is also to be found, buried, along both sides of the low farmhouse wing. It is carefully stopped and returned at the openings.

The general floor level of the ground-floor rooms has also been raised by about 18 inches, a point which is confirmed by:-

- a) Buried bases to the two pillars which support the surviving vaulting in the south-east corner.
- b) The hearth which was found to the fireplace in the centre of the north wall of the south chamber on the ground floor (now the dining room).
- c) The threshold to the door to this room from the courtyard, before 1981 partly walled up and containing a window but now a doorway again.
- d) The position in relation to the present floor of the three drawbar sockets which were found.
- e) The floor level in the garderobe off the undercroft of the great Hall.
- f) Below the wood floor of the centre room on the east side there is an 18-inch void and the bottom of this showed traces of flags, which were possibly post-medieval but indicate a lower floor level.

2. *Vaulting*

The only vaulting visible in 1981 was in the two small rooms in the south-east corner. A further half bay of vaulting was found walled up in a thick wall and has been exposed in the drawing room. The removal of the decayed stoothing and lath and plaster with which the walls had been lined in the 1850's revealed the corbels and the wall ribs. Similar traces were discovered in the south chamber and later in the undercrofts of the great hall so that it is now quite clear that the whole of the ground floor of the main building was vaulted. What is still uncertain is whether this also applied to the wing which is now the farmhouse.

3. *Plan of the Ground Floor (Fig. 2)*

Sufficient evidence has been discovered to show that the undercroft consisted originally of three main chambers:-

- a) A vaulted room under the great hall, approximately 40 ft by 28 ft, vaulted in six square bays with two pillars. This room had a wide doorway onto the berm at the east end of its north wall which survives unaltered and a small door into the courtyard (or into a porch now demolished) of which the jambs survive but the arch head has been raised. It has a garderobe, now restored to use, in a large projecting south-west buttress and presumably four windows, one of which survives almost intact. It seems to have had no communication westward but to have had one doorway into the east wing. The large fireplace which contains an eighteenth-century cast iron range is an insertion and there is no trace of any

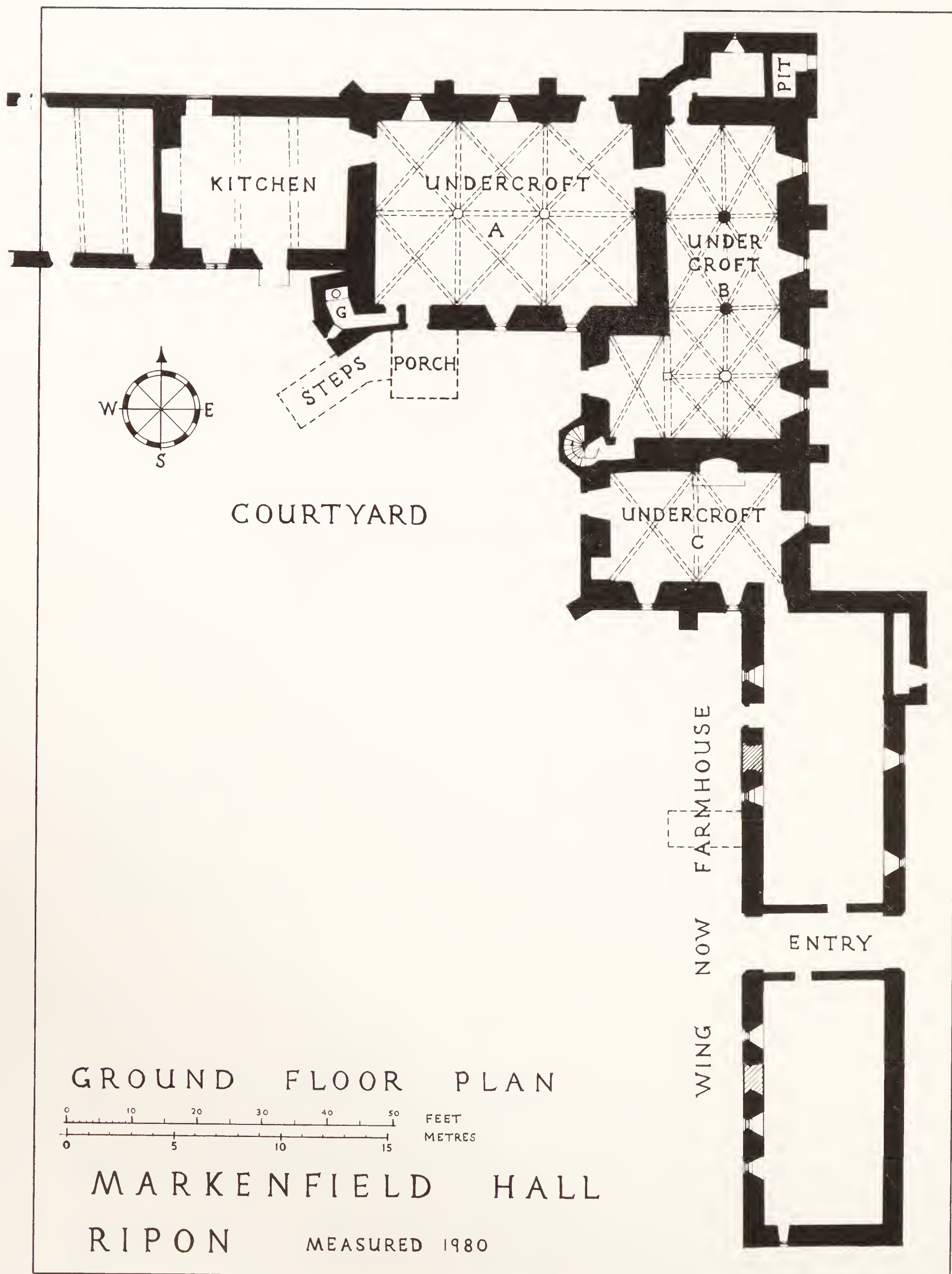


Fig. 2

original fireplace or chimney.

- b) An L-shaped room under the solar and chapel, 47 ft. long and generally 17 ft. wide, vaulted in bays with four columns, two of which have survived. The two northern windows on the east side are original but have been widened. There may have been a garderobe at the north-west corner but the present small square vaulted chamber (below the first-floor garderobe) is not a garderobe, nor is it the "pit" as indicated in Ambler's plans.² There is a small doorway (damaged) at this end, and a wider doorway to the courtyard, the inner arch of which survives, although the outer jambstones and lintel were renewed in gritstone in the last century.
- c) A south chamber approximately 26 ft. x 17 ft., vaulted in two bays. It has a wide entrance doorway from the courtyard, which had been completely walled up, which was partly re-opened and altered into a window in the nineteenth century and which has now been completely re-opened as a door. Parts of the original threshold survive and a long, lined, drawbar socket, a feature also found in the main doorways to (b) and (c). An original fireplace was found in its north wall and has been opened up. The chamber communicated with the "farmhouse" wing by a small doorway, now blocked, and a passage through its south wall but the doorway onto the berm dates only from the nineteenth century. The vaulting ribs were similar to those of the north end but considerably heavier in section.

4. *First Floor (Fig. 3)*

Tiling survives over the vaulted rooms at the north end of the east wing but it is concealed by an eighteenth-century boarded floor which has been laid some 4 inches higher. A small area of the original tiles has been re-laid as a hearth in the centre room. The tiles measure approximately 4½ by 4½ by 1½ inches and are slightly wedge-shaped with a hollow in the centre of the underside. Glaze has survived on the edges and traces of colour and glaze on certain tiles. The worn state suggests a long period of use.

Before 1981 the wall between the chapel and the solar was a 2-foot thick of stone roughly laid with a rubble core. It was badly cracked and had settled as much as 3 inches in places because it had been built on the loose hardcore filling over the vault and part of the vault had subsequently been removed. It was curiously placed on plan, its end running into one of the solar windows. Its building must have been at the same time as the insertion of the second floor, since the cross beams which carried the second floor over the chapel had been built into it. It was necessary to rebuild the wall almost completely and to underpin it with a concrete beam and in the demolition a number of timbers were recovered, which were clearly part of a timber-framed wall and also chunks of infill panels—limestone chippings mortared together and plastered both sides. The thickness of these was 5¾ inches, which corresponded with the timbers. Several beam sockets were discovered and one had been left exposed, showing that the original alignment made the chapel a simple rectangle. This has been followed in the reconstruction.

5. *The Second Floor*

Where boarding had to be lifted this showed that the oak joists were massive and closely spaced. Further evidence was obtained that the second floor was an insertion. It is usually dated as Elizabethan and credited to Sir Thomas Egerton. The upper windows are of the same date. Although the mouldings were carefully

2. L. Ambler, *Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire*, 1913, Plate XXXV.

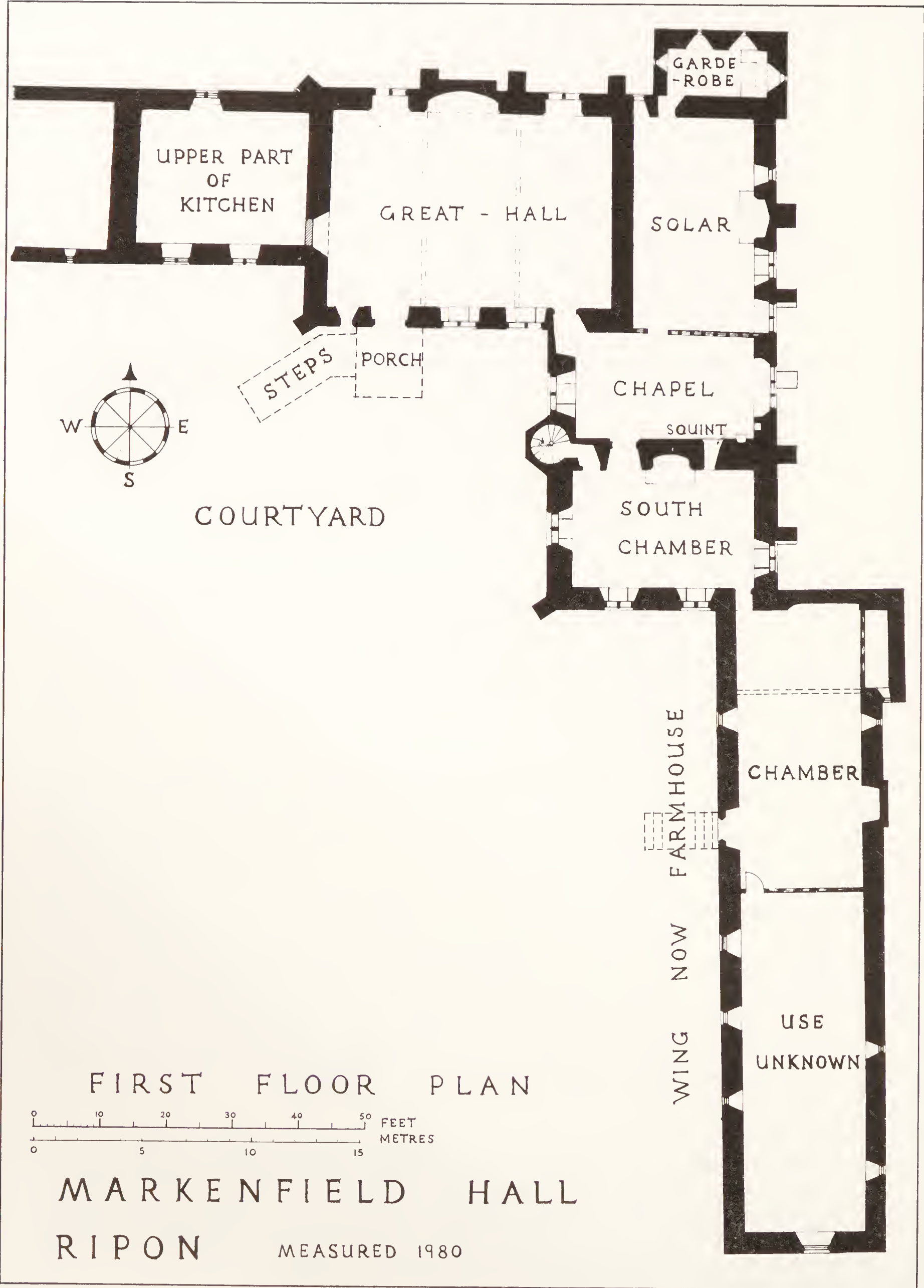


Fig. 3

copied from the lower windows, the stone is softer and yellower, possibly Hell Wath, and contrasts with the harder and greyer original stone which resembles Quarry Moor.³ There were clear traces internally of the springings of the original arched heads to the lower windows. The internal reveals of the upper windows are much less carefully finished above this level.

6. *The Chapel*

Before 1981 the chapel had a flat nineteenth-century match-boarded ceiling which cut across the apex of the east window. Inspection of the loft showed that at a slightly higher level, heavy, steeply cambered cross beams of a medieval type survived and these had been used to support the king posts and struts of the eighteenth-century roof. Careful examination of these beams revealed the mortices of a panelled ceiling which had followed the camber of the beams; pegs and tenons remained in the mortices and in some cases cut off sections of the secondary beams, so that it was possible to reconstruct the ceiling with some accuracy. This revealed the stone cornice, the badly damaged parts which were restored in plaster. The proportions of the room were thus greatly improved.⁴ It seems likely that this ceiling, which is substantial, was the actual roof and that it was covered directly with lead in the manner of the one surviving original roof at Bolton Castle.

A further interesting find was the chase at the west end of the Chapel which led the bell-rope up into the lucarnes of the spire over the staircase turret.

Layers of whitewash on the piscina were removed to reveal a very delicate net vault in the niche and a pattern of oak leaves and acorns on the base with shield bearing the Markenfield Arms, (azure, on a bend sable, three bezants). The two bowls are delicately scalloped. One is intact. The other has been roughly squared, no doubt to take a piece of flag to form a shelf.

7. *The South Chamber*

The original doorway from the chapel into the south chamber had been walled up and only its label and carved label stops were visible. Removal of the outer skin of stone on the chapel side revealed that the arch was in two orders and that there was a skin of eighteenth-century brickwork some 18 inches behind, which formed the back of the fireplace inserted into the chamber side of the door opening and that the archway on the chapel side had been turned into a cupboard, one jamb having been cut away to allow the original door to be refixed to open as a cupboard door into the chapel. Part of the chamfered threshold of the doorway was found and also some floor tiling. The eighteenth-century fireplace was partially dismantled and removed, leaving only its grate and front.

Removal of further plaster in the chapel revealed that the present doorway from the chapel to the newel stair had been cut through the original stonework, probably when the original doorway was blocked.

Removal of plaster also revealed that the small door, to the second of the rooms into which the south chamber had been divided in the eighteenth-century, was originally a squint which enabled the occupant of the south chamber to see the altar and the celebrant from his fireside. In the chamber itself the original fireplace was found in the centre of the north wall. Its measurements and details corresponds exactly with the fireplace in the solar. Part of the original hearth survives.

Removal of plaster also showed that the passage through the south wall of the

3. Quarry Moor is a mile to the south of Ripon on the A.61 opposite the Wheatsheaf. Hell Wath is a mile or so further west.

4. The new beams etc. are all in pine.

south chamber into the low 'farmhouse' wing was lined with ashlar and therefore must have been part of the original plan. The south chamber therefore occupied a very central position in the original plan. Entered from the upper end of the great hall through the chapel by the most elaborate door in the building it had direct communication by the newel stair up into the battlements and down into the middle room in the undercroft and if the 'farmhouse' wing was the original gatehouse the passage would also give access to the place from which any drawbridge or portcullis could be controlled. This, together with its large windows which face east, south and west and its squint, suggest that this was John de Markenfield's own room.

A further point of interest is that after its height had been reduced by the inserted second floor but before the doorway and fireplace had been altered the room had been panelled. Oak plugs for the panelling were found under the plaster and the actual panelling is now in the dining room in Minster House, Ripon. The dimensions correspond.⁵

8. *The Great Hall*

The only work undertaken here was to clean the stonework of the interior walls and to clean the beams and soffit of the roof. The roof, of course, is late and probably belongs to Fletcher Norton's reconstruction. Its cross-beams actually sit on the pavements of the wall-walks of the battlements and the present lead parapet gutters have been constructed in wood about 18 inches higher so that the parapet walls now appear very low.

The original roof was considerably lower. It was in three main bays each with a width of about 14 feet, so that there may have been intermediate principals. Corbels (or the remains of corbels) survive in all four corners of the hall. There are two intermediate corbels on the north and south walls. Chases are visible, or can be traced, for the vertical posts rising from these corbels. There are higher corbels in the centre of the gable walls, which possibly supported the ridge.

The position of the fireplace in the north wall with its segmented head is now clear, as are the jambs of the main entrance door on the south side. It also appears that the western window on the north wall was begun as a doorway. The pin for the lower hinge is still *in situ*. The hall was therefore planned to have two doors opposite one another in the normal manner, both approached by external stairs, which is confirmed by a raking tabling on the north side to take a roof over this stair. In the event it became a window, only the south door was used, and a porch at first-floor level was built to cover this. There is certainly no sign of a screen and the relative positions of the fireplace on the north wall and the doorway on the south would make it difficult to position a screen. Nor does it seem possible for there to have been any service rooms at the west end of the hall.

One can now see that the windows, except the one which was originally a doorway, had window seats and ledges similar to those in the east wing. The low archway inserted below the north-east window and now blocked led to a small wing which may have been post-medieval but which was already in ruins by 1823. An interesting point is that most of the stonework and tracery of the windows seems to be original. The mullions and transoms have rebates for shutters. Pins for the shutter hinges still remain on the jambs and keeps for the latches on the mullions (except on the few replacements).

5. Information from Mrs. F. E. Le Grice.

9. *The Great Kitchen*

It has long been clear that the large room in the undercroft of the great hall was not the medieval kitchen and that its wide fireplace was a comparatively late insertion. The discovery that in medieval times this room was vaulted and that its present ceiling, which is the floor of the great hall, is of late eighteenth-century date, makes it likely that it was only at this date that the fireplace was formed.

The medieval kitchen was of course the block immediately west of the great hall. Clearly it is a later build because it blocks the west window of the hall. There are corbels in its loft which carried the roof of an earlier and smaller structure, which was narrower and cleared the window. This kitchen can be dated fairly accurately by its heraldry. Under the eaves of its south wall there is a frieze of ten shields. Three are so eroded that they cannot be read, two are modern blanks, but of the five decipherable, No. 6 (reading from left to right) is MARKENFIELD and may represent Sir Thomas Markenfield who died in 1422 and who occupies the large tomb in the north transept of Ripon Cathedral. No. 8 is SOOTHILL, for his wife Beatrice, and No. 5. WARD of GIVENDALE, for his daughter Joan who married Sir Roger Ward. Any connections for No. 7. (MINNIOTT) and No. 9. (PLOMPTON or BOLSTRODE) have not yet been traced. The style of work fits in well with an early fifteenth-century date.⁶

The main feature of the great kitchen is the fireplace. More than 12 feet wide and over 4 feet in depth, with a huge segmental arch, it was quite invisible until the plaster was stripped in 1982. The arch had dropped badly and spread allowing the chimney stack to settle. Fortunately there was a substantial relieving arch above, which can be seen in the first-floor bedroom and inserted brickwork which had been constructed at various dates was taking a good deal of the load. The trouble lay in the right-hand jamb, which had originally contained a domed oven which had been cut away to form a recess for a set pot, and which had completely collapsed. It was necessary to rebuild this jamb on new foundations and then to reconstruct the lower arch, before the inserted brickwork could be removed. A later eighteenth-century, barrel-vaulted, brick bread oven which had been inserted to the left of the fireplace has been retained but reduced in depth. New stone to replace the damaged voussoirs was obtained from the quarry at Wormald Green, two miles to the south and is very similar to the original. There is a disused quarry about 500 yards east of the Hall, in the same ridge as the Wormald Green Quarry which may have been the source of the original stone.

The present roof to the kitchen block, which is steep and covered with grey slates, probably dates from the early seventeenth century but an earlier and flatter roof which must have been covered with lead can be traced in the loft. The inserted first floor seems also to be seventeenth-century. The boarding is in oak and the boards are very wide (up to 20 inches), quite short (generally no longer than 4 feet), 1½ inches to 2 inches thick, and fixed into oak joists with long tapered oak pegs.

The windows also appear to be seventeenth-century but the ground floor window on the south side is an original window opening which has had its cill cut down and a new head inserted at a lower level.

10. *The 'Farmhouse' Wing*

It has sometimes been assumed that the lower wing on the east side of the courtyard is later than the main building (partly because of its two richly moulded doorways, which, however, are fifteenth-century insertions). There is a considerable amount of evidence to show that this wing is coeval with the rest of the 1310 build.

6. Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer has supplied details of the heraldry.

First there are the doorways and passages through the south wall of the south chamber and the room below, which must have been built with the wall and not cut through it. Then the windows and buttresses on the south side of the south chamber are spaced to take account of the "farmhouse" and the masonry of the wing and the details of the three surviving small lancet windows correspond in style with the main building. Lastly the loopholes in the battlements over the south chamber have been planned to give maximum cover to the archway in the centre of the wing.⁷

There is a strong possibility that this archway was the original entrance to the courtyard. The present Elizabethan gatehouse is little more than an ornamental porter's lodge and it seems hardly likely that it replaces a more substantial gate. Opposite the archway there was a similar archway in the east wall facing the moat which was walled up in the same softer yellow stone which was used in the Elizabethan work. The moat was at its narrowest on the east side and a gatehouse in this position is well related to the site of the outer gatehouse.⁸

This thesis fits in well with the idea that the South Chamber was John de Markenfield's. That the first-floor room at the north end of the "farmhouse" wing was important is indicated by its handsome fireplace and by the attached shafts on the jambs of a window on the west side which was originally a doorway. The position of an external stair leading to this doorway can also be seen on the wall to the courtyard. The present roof to the farmhouse wing is eighteenth-century. Originally the walls seem to have been higher. No sign of any battlements survives.

7. These points were noted by Mr. Gilyard-Beer.

8. I owe this suggestion to Mr. A. M. Boal, A.R.I.B.A. Dipl. Arch.

A REGIONAL CAPITAL AS MAGNET: IMMIGRANTS TO YORK, 1477-1566

By D. M. PALLISER

It will never be possible to quantify migration in Tudor England with statistical precision, but that need not make one despair of finding general patterns behind the confused contemporary mass of references to men and women on the move. Recent studies have indicated clearly, for example, a net migration from rural to urban areas, and it has become an orthodoxy to argue that death-rates exceeded birth-rates in the cities, which would have shrunk without an influx of immigrants. This generalisation may be too simple, and a recent study based on mainly German evidence has questioned its validity,¹ but there is little doubt that migrants played a crucial part in urban life. A recently-discovered source for analysing the origins of immigrants to York in the early and mid-Tudor periods offers the opportunity for assessing their contribution in one major English city.

York was at that time one of the largest half-dozen principal cities in England, with a population of some 8,000.² From the 1460s to the 1560s it was in the grip of a long-term economic recession, and its great days as a cloth-manufacturing town and international trading port lay in the past. Nevertheless, it retained enough economic and social advantages to attract immigrants even during the worst of the depression. The county and ecclesiastical administrations and courts, the numerous markets and fairs, the road and river communications, and a complex urban economy which supported about 70 separate crafts, all generated employment. The 'pull' of those opportunities can be measured by numerous references to immigrants, and by one especially valuable source for the mid-Tudor period.

As will be seen, the great majority of York's immigrants were drawn from its hinterland. However, taking first the scattered Yorkist and early Tudor references to migration, the most striking feature is how large a minority of newcomers were drawn from outside the county. That is especially notable since Yorkshire was the largest English county, its boundary never less than 40 km from the county town, and in places up to 110 km even in a straight line. Alderman Sir Richard York (d. 1498), despite his family name, came from Berwick on the Scottish border; Alderman Robert Petty (d. 1528) was born at Urswick in Furness; and Alderman John Besby (d. 1535) came from Barrow-on-Humber in Lincolnshire.³ That they were not freak examples has been demonstrated by J. N. Bartlett, who analysed the origins of 223 men enfranchised at York between 1351 and 1500 whose birthplace or previous residence was stated. 167 (75 per cent) were Yorkshiremen, 23 (10 per cent) came from the four Northern counties and 33 (15 per cent) from elsewhere.⁴

Cumbria (using the expression to include Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness, or most of the post-1974 county) seems always to have provided many of the long-distance migrants to York. The soil was poor, the population too large, and despite the distance

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1. A. Sharlin, 'Natural Decrease in Early Modern Cities: a Reconsideration', *Past & Present*, 79, (1978), 126-38.
 2. On Tudor York and its economy, see D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1980).
 3. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iv, (ed.) J. Raine (Surtees Soc., liii, 1869), 136-7; *Test Ebor.* v, (ed.) Raine (Surtees Soc. lxxix, 1884), 225; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, prob. reg. 11, f.147.
 4. J. N. Bartlett, 'Some Aspects of the Economy of York in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1550' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London Univ., 1958).

and the intervening Pennines there was a long-standing export of Kendal and other Cumbrian cloth to York. At least five Kendal men took up the freedom of York in the 1490s, all of them drapers, chapmen or merchants.⁵ In 1530 the York tailor John Smyth produced evidence that he was a native of Abbey Holme parish, Cumberland, and as he had come to York to be apprenticed to his uncle Cuthbert, the uncle was doubtless also a Cumbrian. Furthermore, the witnesses to John's baptism—the master of the York tailors and four other citizens—were all from Abbey Holme too, and 'crystened all in oone font'.⁶

Most references to York immigrants before 1535 are haphazard, but the baptismal certificate of John Smyth typifies a slightly more numerous source. It was a serious matter for a York resident to be 'defamed' or 'slandered' to be a Scot, and the city archives include between 1477 and 1513 the evidence of nearly thirty men that they were English-born and no Scots;⁷ Smyth's own case is probably a late example of the same type. At least six Yorkshiremen, and seventeen men from the four Border counties, had to clear themselves of the charge of Scottish birth, for the alternative was disfranchisement. In 1506 Bartram Dawson, a city councillor and about to be elected alderman, was rumoured to be a Scot. Threatened with disfranchisement and loss of his councillor's place, he had to secure a certificate of birth and baptism from his home parish of Bamburgh in Northumberland.⁸ Much the same happened to a Lincoln alderman, for York was not unique in this policy.⁹ It is satisfactory to learn that Yorkers were not immune from the intolerance which they practised on others. In the 1490s a bowyer dwelling in Norwich was 'noysed in Norffolk for a Scoteman borne', and had to secure a testimonial of his birth in York.¹⁰

Genuine aliens, however, whether from Scotland or overseas, were not entirely lacking in York. Three Scots were admitted to the franchise in 1501 and 1506, and two Spaniards in 1503 and 1530.¹¹ The last, Martin Soza from Zafra, became the only alien-born city councillor during the entire Tudor period. The printing and publishing trade, which flourished briefly in early Tudor York, was completely dominated by aliens from the Netherlands, France and Germany.¹² Surprisingly, aliens were able to reside in York and even take up freedom without becoming English denizens. The corporation received legal advice in 1506 that they could make non-denizens freemen, and they plainly exercised the right.¹³ Martin Soza was enfranchised in 1530, but did not acquire letters of denization until 1535.¹⁴ Aliens were, however, always a tiny, if influential, minority of citizens, and their origin probably marked them out more conspicuously than their numbers would warrant. The lay subsidy of 1524 for the city recorded only three aliens (a 'Dutchman' and two Frenchmen), that of 1546 also three (all French), and that of 1549 nine (all French).¹⁵ A check on Frenchmen in 1558 revealed four in the city, all of whom

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5. *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, (ed.) F. Collins (Surtees Soc., xcvi, 1897, and cii, 1900), i. 216-22.
 6. *York Civic Records*, (ed.) A. Raine (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 8 vols., 1939-53, hereafter Y.C.R.), iii. 130.
 7. Most are collected in *A Volume of English Miscellanies*, (ed.) J. Raine (Surtees Soc. lxxxv, 1890), 35-52. Others are in Y.C.R., iii, 15, 16, 130; and in York City Archives (hereafter Y.C.A.), MS. B8, ff. 12v, 14v, 22, 27v; B9, ff. 70v, 71v, 73, 74r.
 8. *English Miscellanies*, (ed.) Raine, pp. 51, 52; Y.C.A., MS. B9, ff. 35v, 36r.
 9. J. W. F. Hill, *Tudor and Stuart Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 29.
 10. *The Paston Letters*, (ed.) J. Gairdner (1904 edn.), vi. 134.
 11. Y.C.A., MS. B9, unnumbered f. at start; *Register of Freemen*, (ed.) Collins, i. 227, 250. Collins' edition misdates all entries by a year; the error is here silently corrected.
 12. D. M. Palliser & D. G. Selwyn, 'The Stock of a York Stationer, 1538', *The Library*, 5th ser., 27, (1972), 209.
 13. Y.C.R., iii. 19.
 14. Y.C.A., MS. E23, f. 103v.
 15. PRO, E179/217/92, 110, 119.

had become denizens.¹⁶

The records so far utilised are biased towards those who were conspicuous, either as members of the civic élite or as immigrants from distant parts. There exists, however, one hitherto neglected source which provides, for the space of a generation, a larger sample of immigrants, and one more representative of the citizens as a whole. The well-known freemen's register lists nearly all those admitted to the franchise, but it merely distinguishes between freemen by inheritance and others, and only occasionally names the birthplace or previous residence of immigrants. However, the chamberlains' account books, which survive for odd years in an incomplete series, are much more informative, and for the middle third of the sixteenth century they record systematically the birthplace of every new freeman. Six such lists survive, for 1535, 1538, 1542, 1554, 1559 and 1565, comprising between them a total of 361 names.¹⁷

90 of the 361 (24.9 per cent) were freemen by inheritance, and can safely be assumed to have been natives of the city, although in only 60 cases out of 90 were their fathers specifically described as *de Eboraco*. The other 271, all of whose birthplaces are listed, were freemen either by apprenticeship or by redemption, and 12 of those were also York natives. One would naturally expect the bulk of natives to claim freedom by patrimony, but that was not possible for those born before their fathers became freemen, for illegitimate sons of freemen, or of course for natives whose fathers were 'foreigners' or non-freemen. Clearly, there was little upward mobility from the 'foreigner' to the freeman class, and almost all recruits to the franchise were either freemen's sons or immigrants. Altogether, then, 102 freemen out of 361 (28.3 per cent) were native Yorkers, a proportion very similar to that calculated for other Tudor cities, both large and small, though admittedly from different samples. At Bristol the proportion of natives among those apprenticed in the decade 1532-42 was 28 per cent, and in a sample of Canterbury men between 1585 and 1628 it was 30.5 per cent.¹⁸

The birthplaces of 234 of York's 259 immigrant freemen are plotted on Figure 1 (12 others came from unidentified places within the area mapped, and 13 from further afield). It makes for clarity to plot the distribution without reference to administrative boundaries or other features, but the original entries normally stated parish and county of birth, and it may be worth briefly expressing the distribution in terms of the historic counties. 186 were Yorkshiremen (51.5 per cent of the whole sample), so that city and county together accounted for 288 out of 361 (79.8 per cent). 37 (10.0 per cent) came from Cumbria, 12 from Northumberland and Durham, five from Lancashire without Furness, and four from Lincolnshire. Only 10 came from other parts of the country, including an Oxford hardwareman, a wait (minstrel) from Dunstable, an apothecary from Amersham, a London cook, a Welsh tanner, and a clerk from Wells in Somerset. Five more were born abroad—a blacksmith from Stirling, tailors from Rennes (Brittany) and Dokkum (Friesland), a surgeon from Orléans and a French goldfiner. In other words, out of every ten freemen in the sample, three were natives, five others were Yorkshiremen, one was a Cumbrian and one came from elsewhere.

The boundaries of the historic counties were irregular, and it may be more useful to analyse the sample in terms of distance of origin. Not surprisingly, the largest suppliers

16. Y.C.R., v. 187-8. All four had been made denizens by letters patent, but only 1 case is recorded on the patent rolls, a warning against treating such records as comprehensive.

17. Y.C.A., MS. C3, 1535 book, pp. 141-50, and 1538 bk., ff. 32-4; MS. C4, 1542 bk., ff. 105-09, and 1554 bk., pp. 166-73; MS. C5, 1559 bk., ff. 85-8, and 1565 bk., pp. 147-52. Strictly, the years covered begin on 15 Jan. and not 1 Jan. The 6 books include 8 men not in the *Register of Freemen* for those 6 years, and the *Register* lists 24 not in the books.

18. J. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration in Pre-Industrial England*, Univ. Oxford, School of Geography Research Papers 6 (1973), p. 34; P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640', in P. Clark and P. Slack, (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (1972), p. 122.

of immigrants were Vale of York parishes within a short distance. Acaster Malbis, 6 km. downriver, supplied four immigrants, and Wheldrake 10 km south-east of York, provided six freemen in the six-year sample. Wheldrake was a parish where much arable was converted to pasture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, perhaps causing depopulation.¹⁹ Altogether, taking the 246 immigrants whose exact or approximate birthplace can be identified, 104 came from within a radius of 30 km, either from the Vale of York or from its hilly fringes. The distribution of the 246 by distance of origins is as follows:

Table 1: Distance travelled by Migrants to York

	Distance (kilometres)								
	<10km.	<20	<30	<40	<50	<75	<100	<125	<150
Numbers	26	76	104	125	140	177	195	207	222
As % of 246	10.6	30.9	42.3	50.8	56.9	72.0	79.3	84.1	90.2
	<200	<300	<400	<500	<800				
Numbers	237	241	243	244	246				
As % of 246	96.3	98.0	98.8	99.2	100.0				

In some ways this distribution is little more satisfactory than that by administrative divisions, for it is based on distances measured in a straight line from Ouse Bridge, the centre of York, a crude calculation which ignores the actual distances by road or river. Furthermore, many of the longer distances would have been disproportionately greater in terms of journey time than of kilometres, because the hilly country of the Pennines acted as a barrier to speedy movement. Nevertheless, the distribution table and the map together yield considerable information about the pattern of migration.

In general, the numbers of migrants diminished with distance, and the largest numbers were drawn from between 10 and 20 km away. It is not proposed, however, to concentrate on these local immigrants, for they came from the city's market and trading catchment area, and it is doubtful how far they should be regarded as true migrants, and how far as examples of 'mere local, undynamic mobility', the natural consequence of a close relationship between a city and its hinterland.²⁰ More significant are the relatively large numbers drawn from outside this radius. Long-distance migrants formed a considerably greater share of the total than they did at Canterbury or Sheffield, two smaller towns for which statistics have been published. Clearly York, like the other regional capitals of Norwich and Bristol, attracted large numbers over very long distances.²¹

A glance at the map also shows that the catchment area for longer-distance migrants was far from symmetrical, a feature hidden by an analysis based on zones of distance. Within a 20 km radius, it is true, migrants were drawn in roughly equal numbers from all points of the compass, but beyond that the pattern was very unequal indeed. York fits very well Patten's suggested model for the larger towns of 'substantial and often localized streams of longer-distance migration superimposed on a fairly well-defined "apprenticeshed" of 20 or 30 miles around'.²² Migrants to York from over 20 km distance came predominantly from a north-westerly direction, from a region including the Yorkshire Dales, the northern Pennines and the Lake District, and stretching as far as the Cumbrian coast. 29 men were drawn from Richmondshire alone, that hilly north-

19. K. J. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County History of Yorkshire: East Riding*, 3 (1976), 124.

20. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, p. 24.

21. E. J. Buckatzsch, 'Places of Origin of a Group of Immigrants into Sheffield, 1624-1799', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., 2, (1949-50), 303-6; Clark, 'Migrant in Kentish Towns', *passim*; Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, pp., 33-9.

22. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, p. 25.

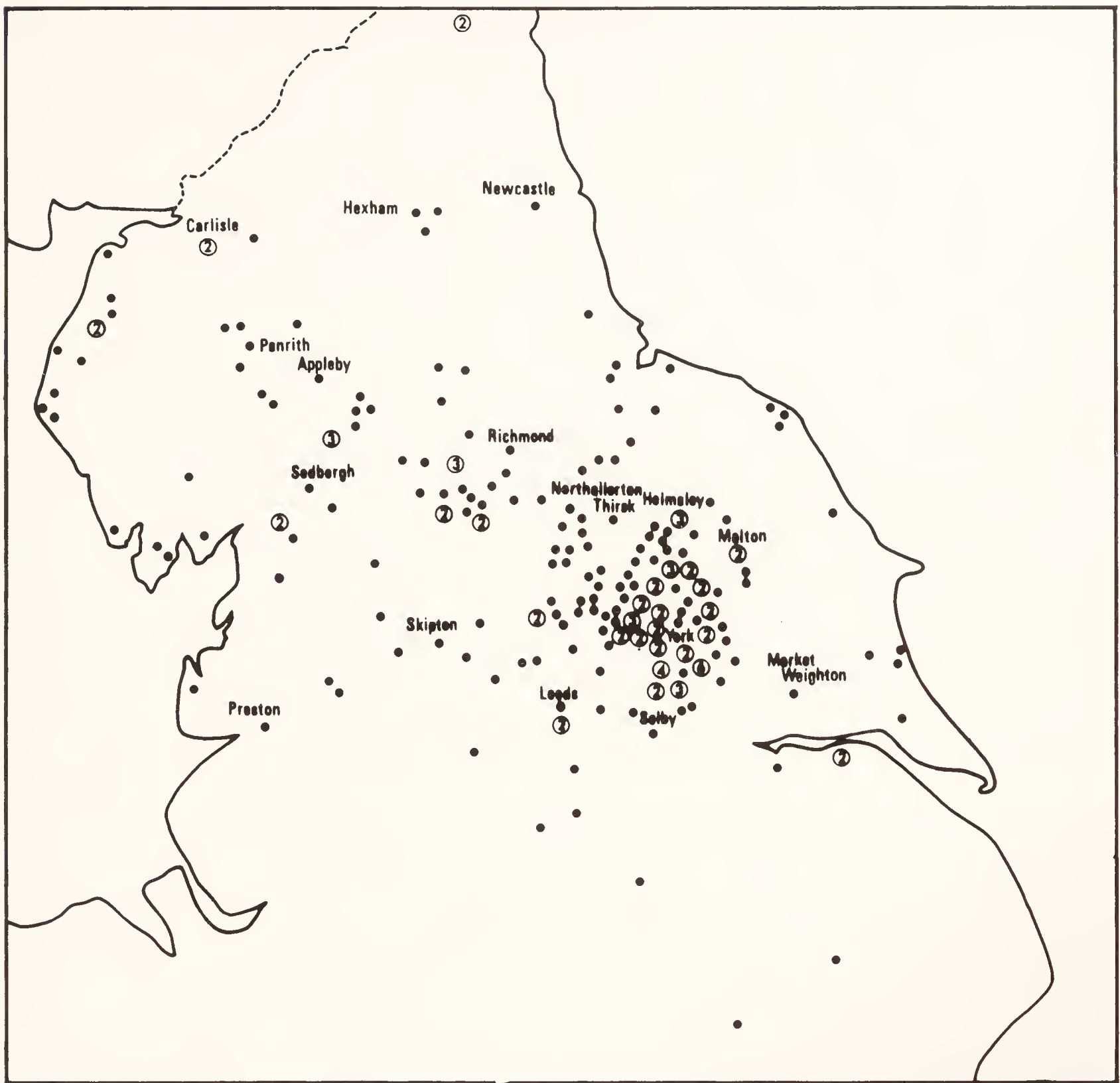


Fig. 1. Birthplaces of Immigrant York Freemen 1535-65.

western region of Yorkshire including Swaledale, Wensleydale, Teesdale and their tributary valleys. Three came from the single parish of Grinton-in-Swaledale, four from the little valley of Coverdale and two from neighbouring Bishopdale. It is this remarkable exodus from the Dales that gives a curious skew to the pattern of immigration: York received as many newcomers from between 50 and 75 km. away (37) as from 30 to 50 km. (36). Further away still, one freeman in ten, or one in seven of all immigrants, came from Cumbria, often from remote villages. Three came from the single parish of Ravenstonedale, nestling among the Westmorland Fells, and 100 km from York as the crow flies.

A close link between an exporting zone of migrants and an importing city argues a weak hold of residence in the one and a strong attraction by the other. The rivers of the Yorkshire Dales flow south and east to join the Ouse above or just below York; the city was thus a natural entrepôt for goods passing between the Pennines on the one hand, and Hull, London and the Continent on the other. Cargoes passing upriver through York between 1520 and 1535 included linen, grains and beans to Boroughbridge, Ripon and

Bedale, and to other places as far distant as Penrith and Cockermouth by way of the Pennines passes: exactly the catchment area of York's more distant recruits. Conversely, butter and stockings from Swaledale and Wensleydale were shipped downstream through the city, while in a famine year West Riding men might travel forty miles (64 km.) to York to buy grain.²³ Where goods travelled, men might well follow, especially from upland areas which could not provide land or employment for all of their natural increase in population. A. L. Rowse long ago drew attention to the considerable excess of baptisms over burials in Cumbrian parishes like Shap, and asked 'where did they all go?'²⁴ As a small part of the answer, Thomas Nevyson of Shap was one of seven Cumbrians admitted to the franchise of York in the single year 1554.

There must have been numerous families like the Metcalfs of Hardraw in Wensleydale, of whom Peter stayed to farm the family inheritance, while his brother Henry migrated to York to be apprenticed to a baker.²⁵ A successful emigrant might attract friends and kin to follow him to York; the colony of tailors from Abbey Holme all working in York in 1530 are a case in point. The three men from Ravenstonedale were admitted in the single year 1565, though here the push of common misfortune rather than the pull of York may have been decisive, for Lord Wharton, lord of the manor of Ravenstonedale from 1546 until his death in 1569, was notorious for his enclosure of Ravensdale Park, which appears to have caused depopulation. So, too Robert Brooke from Hunslet near Leeds was enfranchised in 1559, followed in 1565 by his brother Percival; both became York merchants, Robert becoming alderman and twice mayor, and Percival a sheriff and junior councillor. At a higher social level, the same process could occur among the gentry, who were not averse to apprenticing younger sons in the cities. The Halls of Leventhorpe near Leeds sent younger sons to York in three successive generations between c 1510 and 1570, all three becoming merchant freemen and eventually mayor.²⁶

The Brookes and the Halls were unusual among York immigrants in hailing from the textile belt of the West Riding. In the six-year sample, most of the West Riding recruits (beyond the city's immediate hinterland) came from the northern dales rather than the textile and metal areas. Similarly, leaving apart the villages near the city, very few immigrants came from the East Riding; few came from Northumberland or County Durham; none at all came from Lancashire south of Ribble, the more prosperous and populous half of the county; and, apart from three recruits from the Lincolnshire bank of the Humber, only ten men in all came from England south of the Trent and Mersey. Returning to Patten's distinction between short-distance 'mobility' and longer-distance 'migration', one may say that few true migrants came to York except from the north-west. It can be explained in terms both of physical geography and of alternative urban magnets. To the east and south-east of York, the lie of the land meant that the natural centre for Holderness and the Wolds was Hull, a rising port already gaining ground at York's expense. In north-east England Newcastle, flourishing through the coal trade, played a similar part. The central and southern parts of Lancashire and the West Riding already looked to the growing textile towns for employment and economic opportunities.

One disappointment about the York immigrant sample is that no obvious correlations can be drawn except with direction and distance. The only close link between

23. D. M. Palliser, 'York under the Tudors: the Trading Life of the Northern Capital', in A. Everitt, (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (1973), 39-59.

24. A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: the Structure of Society* (1950), pp. 220-1.

25. H. Thwaite, (ed.), *Abstracts of Abbotside Wills 1552-1688* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, cxxx, 1968), p.30.

26. M. E. James, 'Change and Continuity in the Tudor North' (Borthwick Papers no. 27, York, 1965), p. 25, n.127, Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 95.

geographical origin and occupations is among the textile crafts; of 24 tailors in the sample, for example, no fewer than nine came from Cumbria, Northumberland and North Lancashire, a much higher proportion than among immigrants of all crafts. The same was true of Norwich, where many immigrants from north-west England entered the textile and clothing trades.²⁷ However, few other links between occupation and geographical origin are discernible. It is clear that more distant migrants were more likely to hail from market-towns, and nearer arrivals from villages and hamlets. Of the 186 Yorkshire immigrants, only 23 came from known market centres, but of the 67 from other English counties, 24 did so.²⁸ However, market-town parishes in the Pennines and Cumbria were often very large, and one cannot be certain that all of these migrants were inter-urban.

The north-western bias of York's reservoir of immigrants fits well with other studies of sixteenth-century migration. Patten defines a zone of 'counties of difficulty' which feature prominently as sources of emigrants: the four northern Border counties, Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire. These furnished many recruits to Bristol, Oxford, Norwich and even distant London, as well as to York.²⁹ Yorkshire itself, with its poor hilly areas as well as rich vales and marshland, was also prominent as a source of emigrants further south and east. At Norwich, for example, 'special links seem to have developed with Yorkshire—especially certain dales in the north and west of that county—and to a lesser extent with Cumberland and Westmorland'.³⁰ All of these samples concern relatively prosperous migrants—apprentices and masters—but the poor moved in the same directions. Analyses of vagrants apprehended in five different towns and regions all reveal a steady drift from north-west to south-east, from highland to lowland.³¹

This is not the place for an adequate discussion of emigration from York, which would in any case require much more investigation in a wide range of local archives. It is clear, however, that some of York's sons themselves joined in this drift to the south and east, allowing 'stepwise' migration as others in turn from further north and west entered York. No Yorkers are listed in the Norwich freemen's register between 1548 and 1600, but a York bowyer has already been noted at Norwich in the 1490s; and the London freemen's register of 1551-3 (the only one surviving) lists three natives of York.³² There must have been others with the ambition of Martin Bowes, though few can have hoped for his success. Bowes was a member of a York patrician family which had fallen on hard times. About 1511, when he was 14 years old, he went up to the capital 'younge and with small substance'.³³ He rose to be an alderman, mayor, and knight, and ended his days goldsmith to Elizabeth I. Bowes remained in London until his death, but there were others who migrated to the London area to gain experience before returning home, a reminder of the phenomenon of temporary migration which is also beyond the scope of this paper. William Wood (d. 1604), a member of York's city council, had in his youth been apprenticed in London, and Thomas Browne, a York tailor's son, became a

27. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, pp. 37-8.

28. Markets as listed in J. Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume IV: 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 468-75.

29. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, pp. 29-39; C. I. Hammer, 'The Mobility of Skilled Labour in Late Medieval England: some Oxford Evidence', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 63, (1976), 194-210.

30. Patten, *Rural-Urban Migration*, p. 37.

31. P. A. Slack, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., 27, (1974), 371-3.

32. C. Welch, (ed.), *Register of the Freemen of the City of London in the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI* (1908), pp. 19, 52, 53.

33. *Y.C.R.* v. 20.

freeman of York in 1574 after three years of apprenticeship in Kingston-upon-Thames.³⁴

Finally, it needs to be emphasised that the sample of 361 freemen analyzed above cannot be assumed to be representative, in its geographical origins, of the city's population. Women may well have had a very different migratory pattern, and they are almost entirely unrepresented. Only one per cent of those enfranchised in sixteenth-century York were women, and though many widows availed themselves of the custom of York allowing them to carry on their late husbands' businesses, they did not need formal enfranchisement. Only one woman, Alice Bryse of Shipton-in-Galtres (1538), appears in the sample of 361. Furthermore, the sample excludes of course all unenfranchised males, whether permanent 'foreign' residents who could not afford the freedom (or lived in liberties and had no need of it), or the paupers, vagrants and birds of passage. There are no systematic records of paupers and vagrants admitted or expelled, such as exist for Norwich and Colchester, though occasional checks by York corporation do allow very limited samples to be analysed. Thus, two surveys in 1574 and 1577 ordered 29 individuals and families to return to the place where they had last dwelt. 17 had last lived within 30 km of York, and 12 had come from further afield, including one man from Norwich, a family of six from Urswick in Furness, and a couple 'who came latly forth of Lancastre shire'.³⁵

However, the value of the York sample need not be belittled. York seems to have had an exceptionally broad franchise by the standards of most Tudor cities, and in the mid-sixteenth century something like half of all adult males were freemen.³⁶ This being so, a sample of six complete years out of a run of 31, comprising the birthplaces of all freemen, gives a high enough proportion of the male residents of York to allow some confidence in the results. The picture that emerges clearly is of a major city which, even in decay, could attract the young and hopeful not only from the surrounding settlements but from distant towns and villages all the way to the Scottish border.

APPENDIX

Calendar of Freemen Admissions stating Birthplaces

The following abstracts give the essential information from each entry. First is given the name of each new freeman (Christian names are standardised, but surnames have been transcribed unaltered), and then his occupation. Then follows his birthplace as given, with the modern equivalent in brackets where it differs, and the county. County names are abbreviated in accordance with E.P.N.S. conventions: Bedfordshire Bd, Buckinghamshire Bk, Cheshire Chs, Cumberland Cu, Durham Du, Lancashire La, Lincolnshire Li, Northumberland Nb, Nottinghamshire Nt, Oxfordshire O, Rutland Ru, Shropshire Sa, Somerset So, Westmorland We, Yorkshire Y.

1. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1535 N.S.

1. William Emondson	porter	Hornby, La
2. William Mallom	potter	Richemond' (Richmond, Y)
3. Oswyn Hedwyn	merchant	Duxfeld Hall in par. de Slale (Slaley), Nb
4. John Wylson	fishmonger	Byrkyn (Birkin), Y
5. Christopher Thomson	tiler	Byrdfurth (Birdforth), Y
6. Henry Ayrslay	potter	Whorlton, Y
7. William Baddok	tailor	Reynys in Lyttyll Bretten' (Rennes, Brittany)
8. Thomas Nottyngham	tiler	Bykkerton (Bickerton), Y
9. Richard Partryche	tailor	Hauxhed in Fowrnez (Hawkshead, La)
10. Richard Brerey	goldsmith	Foresta de Knayrsbrugh (Knaresborough, Y)
11. Giles Calverlay	tapiter	Cravyn (Craven), Y

34. Borthwick Institute, York, MS. R VII G 1430; *Kingston upon Thames Register of Apprentices 1563-1713*, (ed.), A. Daly (Surrey Recrd Soc., xxviii, 1974), p. 4 and plate 2, a photograph which shows errors in transcription.

35. Y.C.A., MS. B 25, ff. 125-7; MS. B 27, ff. 3, 4, 6, 49, 50.

36. Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 148.

12.	William Smyth	linen weaver	Hamsthwayte (Hampsthwaite), Y
13.	Richard Brown	carpenter	Lethelay iuxta Otlay (Leathley), Y
14.	John Mooke	merchant	Farrendon (Farndon), Nt
15.	William Dove	innholder	Aglethorp (Agglethorpe) in Coverdale, Y
16.	Thomas Fall	joiner & carver	Clyfton (Clifton), Co. City of York
17.	Edward Wycok	glover	Huby infra Forestam de Galtres (Y)
18.	Richard Martyn	apothecary	Hammersam (Amersham), Bk
19.	Richard Snar	fishmonger	Rykhall (Riccall), Y
20.	Robert Huton	cook	Penryth (Penrith), Cu
21.	Thomas Jakson	tanner	Newton super Use (Newton-upon-Ouse), Co. City of York
22.	Thomas Mason	saddler	Civitas Ebor' (York city)
23.	John Browne	hosier	Skypton Brygg in par. de Topleyf (Topcliffe, Y)
24.	Thomas Wylcock	glover	Huby infra. Forestam de Galtres (Y)
25.	Robert Northerby	butcher	Tokwyth (Tockwith), co. City of York
26.	Richard Huton	tapiter	Cartmell (Cartmel), La
27.	Robert Laken	tanner	Ellerbeck in par. de Osmotherlay (Osmotherley), Y
28.	Thomas Agar	draper	Huntyngton (Huntington), Co. City of York
29.	John Dowson	tapiter	Kottynghwyth (Cottingham), Y
30.	John Husthwayte	painter	Branston, Li
31.	William Warthell	painter	Newbrugh (Newburgh), Y
32.	Laurence Spark	sawyer	Otley, Y
33.	Robert Vause	tapiter	Heworth, Co. City of York
34.	George Godson	labourer	Whittinam (Whittingham), Nb
35.	William Story	tailor	Newcastell (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nb)
36.	Edmund Jordeyn	surgeon	Orlyance (Orléans, France)
37.	Thomas Myddylton'	tanner	Lupton in par. de Kyrkbe Londesdayle (Kirkby Lonsdale, We)
38.	Richard Turnbull	clothier	Conysthorp (Coneythorpe) in par. de Goldesburgh (Goldsborough), Y
39.	John Hubank	shipwright	Wynton (Winton), We
40.	Robert Watson	tapiter	Hopperton, Y
41.	John Norton	metalman	Stamfurthbryges (Stamford Bridge), Y
42.	Davy Bell	beer brewer	Wheldryk (Wheldrake), Y
43.	William Reydhed	smith	Kello (Kelloe), Du
44.	Roger Williamson	baker	Tallantyer (Tallentire), Cu
45.	Thomas Thykpenny	barber	Cawod (Cawood), Y
46.	Christopher Ledale	baker	Rycall (Riccall), Y
47.	Thomas Wylkynson	woollen weaver	Bisshopthorp (Bishopthorpe, Y)
48.	Christopher Yong	tanner	Marwod (Marwood) Park iuxta Barnacastell (Barnard Castle, Du)
49.	Anthony Hargyll	woollen weaver	Wheldryk (Wheldrake), Y
50.	Edmund Walkynnton	glasier	Lynton super Usam (Linton-upon-Ouse), Y
51.	Richard Bargeman	goldsmith	Wylberfosse (Wilberfoss), Y
52.	Thomas Sharr	glover	Crak (Crayke), Y
53.	James Symson	pewterer	Grynton in Swawdale (Grinton in Swaledale), Y
54.	James Newby	tanner	Rommalkyrk in Com. Richemond (Romaldkirk, Y)
55.	Edward Luge	spurrier	Barlby iuxta Hemmyngburgh (Hemingborough), Y
56.	Richard Watson	armourer	Civitas Ebor' (York)
57.	Thomas Wylson	millar	Laburn in Com. Richemond (Leyburn, Y)
58.	John Hall	waxchandler	Strensall, Y
59.	John Neleson	cordwainer	Swaynby (Swainby), Y
60.	John Alkeland	tapiter	Heworth, Y
61.	Robert Acclam	tanner	Sandhuton (Sand Hutton), Y
62.	John Gellesthorpp	tanner	Fulford, Y

2. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1538 N.S.

63.	Thomas Standevyn	innholder	Whallay (Whalley), La
64.	Thomas Chambré	cook	Raskell (Raskelf), Y
65.	Thomas Burton	weaver	Burton Status (Burton-upon-Stather), Li
66.	Anthony Freer	pewterer	Grynton in Swawdell (Grinton in Swaledale), Y
67.	Richard Kendall	labourer	Sherifhuton (Sheriff Hutton), Y

68. Alicius (*sic for Alicia*) Bryse victualler
69. Andrew Howson dyer
70. George Watson miller
71. Richard Besbrowne cordwainer
72. James Browne 'tynkler'
73. Stephen Skelton cook
74. Robert Fallayfeld tiler
75. Thomas Stringer victualler
76. William Hogeson linen weaver
77. Guy Laydman glover
78. Laurence Collynson miller
79. Andrew Gude roper
80. Robert Dyxson baker
81. Nicholas Laken cooper
82. James Thorneburro sawyer
83. William Murton linen weaver
84. Thomas Yaites tiler
85. Thomas Ostler pewterer
86. Christopher Wyld tapiter
87. John Ledaylle fisher
88. Thomas Wylson cordwainer
89. John Atkynson cooper
90. Leonard Temple corn merchant
91. Nicholas Wyseman baker
92. Thomas Chambré carver
93. Henry Greytheid baker
94. John Clerk pewterer
95. John Wheldryg cook
96. Thomas Glover currier
97. Thomas Leng potter
98. Percival Lyghtfoote tailor
99. William Wylman tailor

3. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1542 N.S.

100. Lancelot Clapham draper
101. George Thomson carrier
102. Robert Crosthwaite bowyer
103. William Brokden draper
104. Robert Flesscher fisher
105. John Tramell tailor
106. Christopher Gawthrop innholder
107. William Smyth cordwainer
108. Thomas Wyllyams tanner
109. Richard Spynke wiredrawer
110. Richard Scott blacksmith
111. John Raykstraw carrier
112. John Wylson carpenter
113. John Betonson tapiter
114. John Whytwell glover
115. Patrick Patterson blacksmith
116. Thomas Grethed carver
117. Richard Gudyere potter
118. George Walker tapiter
119. Richard Smyth tailor
120. Richard Lewes fisher
121. John Lunde goldsmith
122. William Rowll hatmaker
123. William Mawxwell tiler
124. William Chamber tapiter
125. Brian Trumper cordwainer

- Shypton (Shipton), Y
 Horton in Rybbylsdale (Ribblesdale), Y
 Lytle Ryll (Little Ryle), Nb
 Kyrksanton (Kirksanton), Cu
 Knaisburgh (Knaresborough), Y
 Marton in Rydell (Rydale), Y
 Popylton (Poppleton), Co. City of York
 Hemmysay (Helmsley), Y
 Carlell (Carlisle), Cu
 Bowng under Stanebor (Bowes?), Y
 Thornton besyd Poklyngton (Pocklington) Y
 Gettyngnam (unlocated), Y
 Thowtrop (Tholthorpe), Y
 Forrest de Naysbrught (Knaresborough), Y
 Prest in Almynes (), Li
 Myddylthorp (Middlethorpe), Y
 Carlton Hustwaith (C. Husthwaite), Y
 Burton, Y
 Weldryg (Wheldrake), Y
 Rycall (Riccall), Y
 Newe Malton (New Malton), Y
 Sutton in (upon) Derwent, Y
 Persanbye, We (Parsonby, Cu?)
 Unthynk (Unthank), Cu
 Hellynthorp (Ellingthorpe), Y
 Seutre in Hawgland (unlocated), Du
 Kaybar (Kaber) prope Kirkbystevand (Kirkby Stephen),
 We
 Newton in Howse (upon Ouse), Y
 Westwyttyn (West Witton), Y
 Hayton in Cleyfland (Cleveland), Y
 Gilsteyd (Gilstead), Y
 Trontrost (unlocated), Y

- Corneburgh (Cornbrough), Y
 Malton, Y
 Sayntbees (St. Bees) in Cowpland (Copeland), Cu
 Stok (Stock) in par. de Brassewelle (Bracewell), Y
 Sneton (Sneaton), Y
 Skymberneys (Skinburness), Cu
 Storres (Storiths) in Cravyn (Craven), Y
 Kyrtyllyngton (Kirklington), Y
 Southwaylles (South Wales)
 Tokwith (Tockwith), C. City of York
 Branthwayt (Branthwaite), Cu
 Skelton iuxta Peryth (Penrith), Cu
 Tallentyre (Tallentire), Cu
 Arkindayle (Arkendale) infra Forestam de Knaresburgh
 (Knaresborough), Y
 Warthell (Warthill), Y
 Stirlyng (Stirling) in Scocia (Scotland)
 Stokton of Tees (Stockton-on-Tees), Du
 Osmoderlay (Osmotherley), Y
 Wellom (Welham), Y
 Aspatre (Aspatria) nygh Cokkermowth (Cockermouth),
 Cu
 Roskell (Rosgill), We
 Kyrkbe Overblaws (Kirkby Overblow), Y
 Civitas Ebor'
 Brandesbe (Brandsby), Y
 Donnyngton (Dunnington), Y
 Popleton (Poppleton), Y

126.	John Doklay	tanner	Lennerton (unlocated), Y
127.	Laurence Smyth	parish clerk	Longpreston in Cravyn (Craven), Y
128.	Richard Fell	tanner	Pennyngton in Fornes (Pennington in Furness), La
129.	William Lambe	tanner	Northus (North Lees?) iuxta Rypon (Ripon), Y
130.	William Hunton	labourer	Bedell (Bedale), Y
131.	Thomas Batty	cooper	Rypon (Ripon), Y
132.	John Jeggar	mariner	Barton (-upon-Humber), Li
133.	John Foster	fisher	Ledome in Cleveland (Kirkleatham), Y
134.	Robert Stobbryg	cordwainer	Bryan Askam (Askham Brian), co. City of York
135.	Edmund Crosthwate	pewterer	Hensyngham in com. Cowpland (Hensingham, Cu)
136.	Roger Walker	corn merchant	Civitas Ebor'
137.	Robert Cok	baker	Sedbar (Sedbergh), Y
138.	Richard Sparke	fisher	Kyrkbe Morsyd (Kirkby Moorside), Y
139.	John Robson	tilemaker	Hexam (Hexham), Nb
140.	Adam Bynkes	merchant	Halgait (Hallgait) in Richemondshier, Y
141.	Laurence Wylson	glover	Grynton in Swaldell (Grinton in Swaledale), Y
142.	Harry Knyght	wait	Dunstable, Bd

4. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1554 N.S.

143.	Brian Redeman	pavier	Harton at Hill, Y
144.	Thomas Banks	goldsmith	Whexlay (Whixley), Y
145.	Thomas Marsyngale	beer brewer	Ampleforthe (Ampleforth) Y
146.	John Nottyngham	tailor	Marston (unlocated), Cu
147.	Nicholas Morres	joiner	Styllyngton (Stillington), Y
148.	Richard Dyconson	shipwright	Aldebrugh (Aldborough), Y
149.	John Gawkryther	tailor	Sowerby iuxta Hallyfax (Halifax), Y
150.	John Ayre	merchant	Lawthton iuxta Doncastre (Laughton-en-le-Morthen), Y
151.	James Calverd	butcher	Cawdber (Caldbergh) in Coverdale, Y
152.	Henry Hill	tailor	Overpopleton (Upper Poppleton), co. city of York
153.	John Rogerson	founder	Rydmare (Redmire) in Com. Rychemond (Y)
154.	Ralph Mykkylthwate	merchant	Penyston (Penistone), Y
155.	Thomas Dawson	merchant	Garforth, Y
156.	Thomas Bowton	cutler	Rypon Parke (Ripon Park), Y
157.	Vincent Crukay	cordwainer	Burton in Bysshopdale (West Burton, Y)
158.	Leonard Garnet	tapiter	Urswyke (Urswick), La
159.	Robert Davy	shearman	Powlton (Poulton), La
160.	William Claton	tailor	Cawod (Cawood), Y
161.	John Gell	tailor	Kyrkhamerton (Kirk Hammerton), Y
162.	Henry Hobson	locksmith	Sutton super Forest' de Galtres (Sutton-in-the-Forest, Y)
163.	William Browne	minstrel	Leydes (Leeds), Y
164.	Cuthbert Watson	minstrel	Civitas Ebor'
165.	William Cobb	tailor	Esyngwold (Easingwold) infra Forestam de Galtres (Y)
166.	Robert Tyson	tiler	Cawdber in Coverdale (Caldbergh, Y)
167.	Richard Dowthwate	tiler	Burgh subtus Staynmore (Brough), We
168.	Thomas Nevyson	minstrel	Shappe (Shap), We
169.	James Kyrton	cordwainer	Satron (Satron) in Swaldall (Swaledale, Y)
170.	Robert Sparke	minstrel	Civitas Ebor'
171.	Alexander Harryson	tailor	Hilhowse (unlocated), Nb
172.	John Carter	baker	Bransburton (Brandesburton), Y
173.	James Flaworth	woollen weaver	Wheldryk (Wheldrake), Y
174.	Hugh Farr	porter	Sandhuton (Sand Hutton), Y
175.	Robert Tayllyer	cook	Sandalle (Sandal), Y
176.	Ralph Womebwell	—	Woddrsone (Wothersome), Y
177.	Brian Jenkynson	tanner	Over Popleton (Upper Poppleton), co. city of York
178.	Thomas Harryson	tanner	Barton Raws (Barton?), We
179.	John Smyth	tapiter	Hemeslay (Helmsley), Y
180.	John Blenkynsop	cooper	Appleby, We
181.	Michael Bell	tailor	Nonemonketon (Nun Monkton, Y)
182.	Nicholas Towend	victualler	Eskryk (Escrick), Y
183.	Thomas Rute	weaver	Kylllynghall (Killinghall, Y)
184.	Martin Arkyndale	tiler	Acaster Malbys (A. Malbis), co. city of York
185.	Richard Treton	hardwareman	Oxford, O

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|------|-------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|
| 186. | Nicholas Sherewod | mariner | Byllingham (Billingham), Du |
| 187. | Gawain Dent | tailor | Kyrkeby Stevyn (Kirkby Stephen), We |

5. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1559 N.S.

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|------|---------------------|-----------------|---|
| 188. | John Plomer | tailor | Pykkell (Pickhill), Y |
| 189. | John Hudeles | labourer | Hayton in Gysland (Cu) |
| 190. | Thomas Mangy | fishmonger | Acaster Malbys (A. Malbis), co. city of York |
| 191. | Edmund Sandes | gentleman | Roddyington (Rottington), Cu |
| 192. | Giles Fawsett | cordwainer | Newhouse Place in par. de Arskar (Aysgarth?), Y |
| 193. | Henry Lylson | innholder | Carlyll (Carlisle, Cu) |
| 194. | Robert Syggeswyke | porter | Civitas Ebor' |
| 195. | Michael Mudd | butcher | Rughforth (Rufforth), co. city of York |
| 196. | Robert Browke | merchant | Hunslaite (Hunslet), Y |
| 197. | Thomas Myton | brazier | Hylton of Levyn (Hilton), Y |
| 198. | Vincent Roose | gentleman | Dent, Y |
| 199. | Robert Jakson | wheelwright | Non Monkton (Nun M.), Y |
| 200. | John Bovell | carpenter | Wheldryk (Wheldrake), Y |
| 201. | Thomas Marton | girdler | Akaster Malbys (Acaster Malbis), co., City of York |
| 202. | John Gamyll | cordwainer | Spotlay (?Sproatley), Y |
| 203. | Edward Johnson | tailor | Newbald, Y |
| 204. | Thomas Myddelton | tapiter | Lupton (We) |
| 205. | William Wodd | copper | Thyrske (Thirsk), Y |
| 206. | Gregory Bargh | draper | Raynton (Rainton) iuxta Toplyp (Topcliffe), Y |
| 207. | William Webster | spurrier | Burnodyaites (Burnt Yates), Y |
| 208. | Richard Buthe | pinner | Selby, Y |
| 209. | Thomas Styddy | dyer | Barton super Humbre (-upon-Humber) Li |
| 210. | William Byrd | saddler | Worweldhome (?Woore), Sa |
| 211. | James Watterson | labourer | Shipton, Y |
| 212. | Robert Husthwaite | minstrel | Hembrugh (Hemingbrough), Y |
| 213. | Humphrey Dawson | butcher | Melmerby in Coverdale (Y) |
| 214. | Edward Slynke | saddler | Sheryf Huton (Sheriff Hutton), Y |
| 215. | Anthony Testymond | cordwainer | Burton in Bysshopdale (West Burton), Y |
| 216. | Edward Barker | draper | Farnam (Farnham), Y |
| 217. | William Strekkett | tailor | Little Mytton (Little M.), La |
| 218. | John Wylson | labourer | Corbryk (Corbridge), Nb |
| 219. | Thomas Hodshon | butcher | Helaigh (Healaugh), Y |
| 220. | William Bowman | locksmith | Tholthorp (Tholthorpe) in par, de Awne (Alne), Y |
| 221. | John Stokdell | labourer | Donyngton (Dunnington), Y |
| 222. | Robert Bryghton | mariner | Wighton super le Wold (Market Weighton), Y |
| 223. | Henry Jakson | carpenter | Tollerton, Y |
| 224. | Anthony Becrofte | fishmonger | Skypton (Skipton) in Craven (Y) |
| 225. | Lancelot Clapham | merchant draper | Cornebrugh (Cornbrough), Y |
| 226. | Leonard Lynlay | blacksmith | Styllyngton (Stillington), Y |
| 227. | John Standevon, sr. | vintner | Civitas Ebor' |
| 228. | Thomas Thorpe | wright | Hamsthwaite (Hampsthwaite), Y |
| 229. | Thomas Mower | minstrel | Hawkeswell (Hawxwell) iuxta Rychemond (Richmond), Y |
| 230. | Robert Askquyth | draper | Helaigh (Healaugh), Y |
| 231. | Guy Marshall | glover | Rughforth (Rufforth), co. city of York |

6. Year beginning 15 Jan. 1565 N.S.

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|------|-------------------|--------------|--|
| 232. | George Wylson | baker | Wheldryk (Wheldrake), Y |
| 233. | William Spenser | innholder | Whyssondyne (Whissendine), Ru |
| 234. | Robert Smyth | goldsmith | Byland, Y |
| 235. | John Harkay | linen weaver | Thwait in Swawdell (Thwaite in Swaledale, Y) |
| 236. | John Marshall | fishmonger | Acaster Malbys (A. Malbis), co. City of York |
| 237. | Brian Manxwell | joiner | Whytby (Whitby), Y |
| 238. | Robert Hewet | tailor | Brunthwaite, Y |
| 239. | Peter Dobson | fisherman | Whytby Strand (Whitby Strand, Y) |
| 240. | Nicholas Ryckward | goldfiner | Regnum Francorum (France) |
| 241. | Thomas Hoggell | mariner | Civitas Ebor' |
| 242. | William Lyth | roper | Heslyngton (Heslington), Y |
| 243. | Robert Thomson | glazier | Thornton Steward, Y |

244.	Roger Swynbanke	tailor	Russyndale (Ravenstonedale), We
245.	Christopher Raysyng	tailor	Borrobrige (Boroughbridge), Y
246.	Robert Grene	brazier	Russyndale (Ravenstonedale), We
247.	William Wylkynson	millor	Stayngrave (Stonegrave), Y
248.	John Sturton	draper	Barneslay (Barnsley), Y
249.	Robert Myddelton	waterman	Awdwarke (Aldwark), Y
250.	John Hall	tapiter	Hemslay (Helmsley), Y
251.	Henry Mower	clerk	Hunsyngour (Hunsingore), Y
252.	Thomas Jobson	cook	Civitas London'
253.	Thomas Barker	yeoman	Semar (Seamer), Y
254.	Gilbert Fawsett	pewterer	RussondeU (Ravenstonedale), We
255.	Robert Sawheld	carpenter	Owsby (Ousby), Cu
256.	Samson Parsyvall	merchant	Studelay (Studley) iuxta Rypon (Ripon), Y
257.	Thomas Kyddall	victualler	Heslyngton (Heslington), Y
258.	Augustine Dokham	tailor	Dokham in Freseland (Dokkum)
259.	Percival Brooke	merchant	Hunslet infra par. de Leedes (Leeds, Y)
260.	William Rutter	weaver	Northallerton (Y)
261.	Thomas Andro	tailor	Hembrugh (Hemingbrough), Y
262.	William Hewetson	merchant	Lupton, We
263.	William Clerkson	scrivener	Grymston (Grimston), Y
264.	John Geldert	victualler	None Monkton (Nun M.), Y
265.	Thomas Metcalf	innholder	Baynbryge (Bainbridge), Y
266.	John Geldard	common herd	Harrogate, Y
267.	James Frost	clerk	Wells, So
268.	Thomas Conyston	pannierman	Hornesay (Hornsea, Y)
269.	Matthew Crosthwaite	waxchandler	Wirkyngton (Workington), Cu
270.	Robert Shereshawe	yeoman	Stoppard (?), Chs
271.	John Metcalf	merchant	Heamyng in Byshopdale (unlocated, in Bishopdale, Y)

JAMES RYTHUR OF HAREWOOD AND HIS LETTERS TO WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY

By W. J. CRAIG

Part II. The Other Letters

An outline of James Ryther's life was given by way of introduction to his descriptions of Yorkshire published in the first part of this article.¹ The ten shorter letters to Burghley now published are individually of lesser interest (though they include a number of otherwise seemingly unrecorded facts) but from the biographical point of view are of greater significance. Yet even when we have filled in the period of Ryther's life to which the letters belong with such further detail as is available we shall be left with an incomplete picture of the man, mainly because the sources we have to draw upon belong mainly to legal disputes. However litigious Ryther may have been, there will have been other activities and other sides to his character (the descriptions of Yorkshire provide a number of instances) of which we know little or nothing. What does, however, emerge from a study of the documents is that the ten letters which follow are not to be taken simply at their face value but as part of a tangled and acrimonious tale of the manor of Harewood during Ryther's lordship.

As previously noted² the 'fine' on change of ownership of the manor from William Ryther and his son James' predecessor Henry was paid during William's lifetime at Easter 1556. No record of any further payment on William's death has come to light; and the fact that the payment of 1556 is cited in the Inquisition *post mortem* on James³ as evidence of his title indicates that it secured the inheritance to James.⁴ Four months after his father's death, by bill of the Court of Wards dated 17 June 1563,⁵ James was licensed to enter upon his estates; and it was at this time that he came to live in Yorkshire, since he writes in Letter III, dated 9 December 1587, of 'my tyme of abode heer, which is now fower above twenty years'. If we accept Whitaker's date,⁶ James was then twenty-seven years old; he was unmarried and found himself in an unfamiliar world.

Unlike what little we know of his father, James seems to have interested himself from the start in his estate. In 1565 he was acquiring lands at four places north of the Wharfe⁷ and by 1570 he had married Elizabeth the eldest of the three daughters of a neighbour William Atherton, who described himself in his will as 'of Harewood gent'. In 1574, in conjunction with another neighbour, William Plompton of Plompton near Knaresborough, Ryther bought out the Redmans from the moiety of the Harewood manor which they had owned alongside the Rythers since the fourteenth century.⁸ William Atherton died between 24 and 29 January 1578. Ryther was clearly his favourite son-in-law for his two sons Robert (b. 1571) and John (b.c.1576) were named both as executors and as residuary legatees in the will dated 17 January 1578.⁹ Atherton's estates

1. YAJ 56 (1984), pp. 95-118.

2. *ibid.* p. 96 and n. 7.

3. PRO/C 142/245/81.

4. For William's will see YAJ 56, p. 97 and n. 9.

5. PRO/C 66/994; *Cal. Pat. Rolls Eliz. 1560-3*, p. 597.

6. YAJ 56, p. 96 n. 5.

7. *CPR. Eliz. 1563-6*, p. 290 no. 1660.

8. YAJ 56, p. 96 n. 4; PRO/STAC 5/R7/2, 11/26, 37/10.

9. Borthwick Inst. of Hist. Res., Chapter Act Books 21, ff. 91v, 92r. and v.

in Harewood and elsewhere went to his eight grandchildren—six Rythers,¹⁰ one Tempest and one Mawde; and provision was also made for James's mother Mary who must have stayed on at Harewood after her husband's death. Robert and John being minors, administration was granted to their father who was assigned as 'tutor' to the boys: Atherton also took the precaution of naming three 'supervisors'. The will is long and detailed and he clearly hoped to ensure that its provisions were duly carried out.

But wills have a way of giving rise to unforeseen difficulties. It emerged that Atherton had handed £100 to his third son-in-law Anthony Mawde; but whether, as Ryther claimed, to hold in trust, or as Mawde claimed, as a gift, led to litigation, Ryther maintaining that the £100, as part of the estate, should go to the residuary legatees. He proceeded to take Mawde to court before the Council of the North; and then managed to have the case transferred to the Star Chamber, where it was heard two years later, in February 1581. Mawde seems to have built his reply on the argument that the Council of the North had said it was the proper body to settle the case; and that it was very unfair to expect him to travel the sevenscore miles to London for the hearing. The upshot is unrecorded.¹¹

Meanwhile Ryther, in common with other landowners of the day, was seeking to turn to his own advantage the legislation which favoured the enclosure of waste land (a commodity with which Yorkshire was well supplied). Where this was effected without arousing contention we hear nothing of it: only when it led to litigation do we have any records. In the course of 1579/80 Ryther brought a case relating to common rights against one Robert Hopwood and others before the Star Chamber. Only Ryther's Bill of Complaint survives;¹² but Hopwood's name occurs again in the next case and the two may well be part of a single episode. The second case erupted in August 1580, sparked off by Ryther's enclosing 'one parcel of ground lately called the Long Wood and now called the Spring'. In that month Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, husband of Margaret Gascoigne, heiress to the manor of Gawthorpe which adjoined Harewood, supported by Robert Hopwood and some twenty-five others assembled 'in riotous manner' and pulled or cut down Ryther's enclosing hedge and turned their cattle into the place. Ryther brought proceedings, which lasted from June 1581 to September 1582,¹³ whether he 'won' or 'lost', which remains unclear, we may be sure that much bitterness ensued between Ryther and the powerful families of Wentworth and Gascoigne. Thomas Wentworth was born about 1529 and his wife was only two years younger; so both were older than Ryther. Unlike Ryther they were not newcomers to Yorkshire. Thomas was already a JP.¹⁴ Sandys' character sketch of him in that capacity may be

10. In addition to the two boys, four girls, Edith, Mary, Anne and Helen (Ellen) had been born by this date; Muriel was born subsequently. John and Muriel, and probably also Anne, died young—John by 1581/2. Their mother was dead by June 1593 and may well have died when Muriel was born (c. 1580). Foster, however, attributes to James a third son, Thomas, born after 1585 and living in 1634 (J. Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the Years 1584-5 by Robert Glover* . . . (1875), p. 303). The Editor (RMB) speculates that Edith may be the 'Idea Ryder' mentioned in the Countess of Cumberland's will of 27 April 1616. The Countess then owed her £200 to be paid from lands in Harewood recently bought from 'Albany' Butler, presumably the Alban Butler of Nateley in Garstang, Lancs, a recusant, who held them from James Ryther. See YAJ 18 (1905), p. 395 and the Inquisition *post mortem* of James Ryther's estate in 1596.

11. *Publ Thoresby Soc* 24 (1919), pp. 164-5: PRO/STAC 5/R14/17. (The Bill of Complaint is endorsed 'R/cro pur 1581'—received the day after the Purification (Candlemas, Feb. 2) 1581). In 1616 Anthony Mawde was posthumously accused in Chancery of having wrongfully enclosed waste and acquired evidences belonging to James Ryther (*Camden Soc 4th ser.* 12 (1973), p. 35 n).

12. PRO/STAC 5/R33/1.

13. PRO/STAC 5/R26/16, 34/10, 37/40, 3/14, 7/12, 11/24.

14. One of the questions in the Star Chamber interrogatory was 'How long before the said pulling down was Thomas Wentworth made Justice of the peace of the West Riding?'

scathing,¹⁵ but we may be sure that he fitted the rough Yorkshire scene much more comfortably than Ryther, who clearly felt ill at ease in the company of the Yorkshire squirearchy.¹⁶ In his final distress when, in June 1593, Ryther composed his Answer to the Bill of Complaint brought against him by Hugh Hare he wrote:

‘And the plaintiff doth use cunningly to procure some great person of those parts where the lands that he hath so entangled lie to covet them, if he may by might dispossess his defendant if he lack right or good matter in law to do it’. Clearly he had Thomas Wentworth or his like in mind.

However there is no record of any immediate consequence of the episode of the Spring and it seems that Ryther went ahead enlarging his estate as opportunity offered.¹⁷ To further his plans he decided to borrow money. We know from the description of Yorkshire his opinion of the money-lenders of York.¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that he turned to a Londoner, Hugh Hare, a member of a family successfully established in the law, administration and business. By his own account²⁰ Ryther began by borrowing £500 at 10 per cent for six months. Unable to pay at the due date, he asked for an extension. Hare refused; and Ryther’s bond of £800 covering the loan became forfeit. Hare then gave him a further year’s grace and even added to the loan (‘taking what it did please him for the forfeiture’²¹) but required a mortgage of land to secure his capital and a recognizance to cover the mortgage. This is the point at which Hare’s account begins and he dates the mortgage to ‘about nine years now fully past’. In the Inquisition *post mortem* the actual date is given as 8 May 1584. This first mortgage was for £1,200 and was followed by a second for £700 dated 17 December 1584. Ryther denies having had these sums; but it seems that he remained in possession of the lands and took the rents. Exactly one year later Hare confronted Ryther and extracted an admission (presumably in writing since it was before Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas) that he owed him £1,000, payable by Christmas. The Sheriff was then ordered to

15. BL/MS Lansd. LII, 63, ff. 182-4: ‘A verie senselesse blockhead, ever wringing and wronging his poore neighboures. Being a great graineman of himself, he bought in the beginning of the last yeare in everie Markett so much as he could, and heaped it up in his houses to sell again at the dearest. He dependeth wholly upon him that brought him in, and will serve all tournes. If you look into the subsidy booke, your L[ordship] shall find him little there’. In his covering letter the archbishop notes that ‘none should be in Commission but such as are £20 in Subsidy’. Lawrence Robinson of York (Letter I) was another such ‘graineman’.

16. YAJ 56, pp. 105/6 and, for the sort of rabble that Wentworth sent in ‘exclaymynge’, *ibid.*, p. 111, first para. and Letter II.

17. YAS Record Series, *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period* IV, p. 161; VII, p. 23.

18. YAJ 56, p. 101.

19. Sir Nicholas Hare, a judge (*DNB*), had three sons and his brother John, a mercer, eight, of whom Hugh (c. 1544-1620) was the sixth. A Bencher of the Temple from 1590, Hugh also, at least in name, shared the Clerkship of the Court of Wards with his brother John. He was also an MP (for Bramber, then Haslemere) in the Parliaments of 1572 and 1589, as was John for Horsham (see P W. Hasler, *History of Parliament, House of Commons 1558-1603*, II, p. 251; also Letters XI and XII and notes).

20. When the case eventually reached the Star Chamber, Hare prepared a lengthy Bill of Complaint (dated 9 June 1593) tracing the course of the dispute with considerable precision; Ryther’s Answer (dated 20 June), while agreeing with almost nothing in Hare’s case, is much less strong on facts and figures. These two (PRO/STAC 5/H2/33) provide the basis for the narrative in the text. The Inquisition *post mortem* on Ryther taken at Leeds on 4 September 1596 (PRO/C 142/245/81) adds little to Hare’s account.

21. This sentence epitomizes one aspect of the quarrel: Ryther became grand and affected to have no interest in what rate Hare was going to charge for the loan. The hard-headed Hare was no gentleman and will have concluded that Ryther had no intention of ever paying. In this and at a number of later points in the story we are reminded of Sir Thomas Metcalfe and the Raydale riot of 1617 (see H. Speight, *Romantic Richmondshire* (1897), p. 23 fol.). John Atherton also apparently became involved with Hare: see HMC *Hastings* II, p. 41, a letter from the Privy Council to Lord Buckhurst of 30 October 1590.

imprison Ryther till he paid but 'did not find him in his bailiwick'.²²

For the next five years there seems to have been a running fight between the two parties, with no holds, physical or legal, barred.²³ The debt of £1,000 remained, technically at least, at the heart of the dispute and eventually (perhaps as late as 1591) Hare based a writ of 'extent' upon it giving him the right to enter Harewood Castle and retain possession until the debt, with costs, was discharged. By January 1592 he had Ryther in Newgate gaol. Not surprisingly each side had become increasingly exasperated with the other, Hare at what he regarded as Ryther's attempts to dodge the law (he opens his Bill of Complaint by describing Ryther as 'a man profoundly studied in Macchiavelli yet greatly grown in decay by maintaining a proud countenance far beyond his calling'; and much more on the same lines) whereas Ryther by his own account became increasingly convinced that it was not money Hare was after so much as so to entangle him as to be able to dispossess him and his heirs of their patrimony.

Now the letters to Burghley were written in fairly quick succession during these very years. Ryther was proud of the inheritance which had fallen to him more or less by chance and Hare had found his Achilles' heel. He says that at an early stage in the controversy Ryther wrote him 'divers letters in most proud and disdainful manner signifying . . . how he . . . was a gent descended of an honorable house and one that had been brought up in, with and amongst the best sort of men; and that he was both Justice of Peace and Justice of Quorum,²⁴ and also that he was sworn an esquire for the body of her Majesty:' an outburst which Ryther admits, saying he was 'provoked by railing speeches of great slander and contempt'. It looks, therefore, as if when in July 1587 he began the series of occasional newsletters addressed to Burghley, highlighting his local interests and concerns, Ryther was making a deliberate attempt to enlist Burghley's support, or at least sympathy, in his controversy with Hare.

Others, however, have read the letters differently. In the *History of Parliament* the authors of the entry on Ryther write 'though always respectful, these letters seem to claim a degree of acquaintance bordering on the familiar; they suggest that Burghley had known him for some years, as indeed he would have done if, as has been asserted, Ryther had been an esquire to the body of the Queen'. Others too, have detected a note of intimacy or friendship. That Burghley was likely to have known Ryther for some years may be accepted easily enough, but anything in the way of genuine familiarity or friendship becomes a matter of subjective judgement on which readers will inevitably differ. There is nothing to suggest that Burghley asked for the letters or that he ever acknowledged any of them before the first from Newgate. Much of what they contain is repetition or hearsay. It would be fair to ask how much was of real interest or concern to the Lord High Treasurer of the realm. The present editor knew the letters for many years before he learnt the full story of the debt and imprisonment; he judged them to have been written by a worried man striving to ingratiate himself with the great. Whatever its nature, the connection with Burghley was of no help in a crisis.

To return to Harewood Castle, Ryther denied the validity of Hare's writ of extent and further delays ensued until Hare was granted a *liberate* empowering the sheriff to enforce

22. The sheriff in 1585 was Brian Stapleton, another West Riding JP. Sandys' comment on him was 'This man is noted to be a great Papist, and so is his Eldest Sonne. He maketh small abode in this Countrey; he lieth at London and keepeth company with Sir Robert Stapleton. He keepeth no house having no wife'. Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighill (c. 1548-1606) was convicted of blackmailing the archbishop and imprisoned in the Tower and the Fleet during 1583-4. He later advised Robert Ryther over the sale of Harewood. See YAJ 8 (1884), 414-23.

23. It is tempting to conjecture that Ryther's experiences at this time were in his mind when he wrote in the Description of Yorkshire about the venality of jurors (YAJ 56, p. 111 and n. 84).

24. For the date of which Ryther became a JP see YAJ 56, p. 98 n. 18. The Quorum was those justices who had legal knowledge (*ibid.* p. 96 n. 6). By 1586 Ryther was also MP for Appleby (*ibid.* p. 98 and n. 17); presumably the letters to Hare were written before this.

the writ. Even then the sheriff hesitated to use force and asked for the support of Sir John Savile, Custos Rotulorum of the county. Ryther avoids giving a detailed account of the ensuing events on the ground that the episode was not germane to the case for debt being laid before the Star Chamber. But such particulars as he gives differ in many respects from Hare's account. It is clear enough, however, that the castle was eventually, on 11 April 1593, occupied by Hare's men, but only after a clash between perhaps 30 or 40 on either side. Bows and arrows, guns and stones, armour, shot and munition were called into use. One of Ryther's men was killed²⁵ and John Savile himself was 'struck on the breast with an arrow shot out of a bow by a very strong archer to the great peril of the loss of his life'. The defence, if it is the right term, was headed by James's son Robert Ryther, supported by a faithful servant Ralphe Conystone. Robert was conspicuous for his violent language, saying that if any durst approach he 'would make hold in their flesh and kill them and hang their skins on the hedge'. When Hare drew up his indictment he could name only three others beside these two, with 'some other persons unknown', as chargeable.

The case came before the Star Chamber exactly one month later: by lucky chance a letter dated (Sunday) 13 May 1593 from one Jeremy Heyborn in London to Henry Bellasis (the same as in Letter III) at Newburgh Priory survives among the Wombwell MSS there.²⁶ Amongst other items of London news it reports that 'Mr. Ryther on Friday last was heard at the Star Chamber by the Lord Keeper Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue who I hope will end the cause. But some further light of the truth is to be sifted out by the oathes of Hare and him, and thereupon the whole substance of their end and determination doth depend'. 'The contestants' depositions followed, dated 9 and 20 June:²⁷ if Lord Keeper Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue were more successful than the present editor in sifting out the truth, their findings were of no advantage to Ryther. In his answer he refers repeatedly to the fact that he had been in prison 'near these two years': about the time he was first confined ('now these two years past') he had formally sued asking 'that he might live in a cottage at liberty and free from oppression and so pay the plaintiff that which was then unpaid': but to no avail, for Hare 'abusing Her Majesty's name and person before the Court of Wards (where the plaintiff is Clerk) to arrest the defendant's body into Newgate for a sworn said debt to Her Majesty before paid'. He had received from the Queen 'a most gracious answer showing that her will and pleasure was that this defendant should not be oppressed in any sort by the complainant or any other'. But neither this nor Burghley's subsequent 'honorable and comfortable letter' of January 1592 were, it would seem, of any real import unless, which is likely enough, it secured Ryther's transfer from Newgate to the Fleet. That he was transferred there during the ensuing year, if not sooner, is established both by the endorsement on Heyborn's letter and by a record in the Salisbury MSS, dated 15 July 1594, that the Countess of Cumberland wrote from Bedford House to ask an unidentified person to move Sir Robert (Cecil) on behalf of 'Mr. Ryther a prisoner in the Fleet': she had already approached the Queen on his behalf when she was at Court.²⁸ A later entry in the same collection dated 17 December 1594 shows he was then still in the Fleet and though a subsequent letter, unfortunately undated, to Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador in England, from 'You know who' reads that Mr. Rydder (*sic*) 'was loosed out of prison yesternight and is to be troubled with strait watching which hinders all his

25. He is not named. Hare says, 'with the loss of one of the lives of the said riotous persons', and Ryther, 'having taken the said house and slain a man most cruelly and wilfully'.

26. HMC *Var. Coll.* II, Wombwell MSS at Newburgh Priory, pp. 107-8. This letter is endorsed 'leave this with Mr. Rither at the Fleet to convey'.

27. PRO/STAC 5/H2/33.

28. HMC *Salisbury* IV, p. 563.

business',²⁹ it is beyond doubt that James Ryther of Harewood died, intestate, in the Fleet at the end of December 1595 and was buried at St. Bride's the following 5 January.³⁰

On what ground Hare secured Ryther's conviction by the Court of Wards in 1590 we do not know. We do know that by the end of September the previous year Ryther had foreseen that he was fighting a losing battle.³¹ The Court was set up in the early Tudor period with the express purpose of tracking down evasions by landlords of payments due to the Crown for wardships. 'The court carried on a brisk business and concealments, either real or the creation of clever officers of the Crown, could cause trouble years after they had, or were alleged to have, taken place'.³² In presenting the case against Ryther for debt to the Star Chamber in June 1593 Hare makes no reference to wardship: in his Answer, Ryther repeats what he had said in his second letter from gaol, that what he had owed the Crown had already been discharged. Yet Burghley was Master of the Court; and even if we cannot see him as especially well-disposed towards Ryther, we must assume that he would not have allowed a palpably unfair conviction unless there had been some extraneous consideration.

In this connection we must consider the evidence that Ryther was an active supporter of the recusant cause. On 23 September 1587 Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, wrote to Burghley that 'he had considered of his letters and would answer his request therein with all faithfulness.' The request was evidently for a report on the suitability of the then members of the West Riding Commission of the Peace for that service. Sandys enclosed a list of nine names with comments drawn up by one F. P.; adding three names whom there was no cause to remove 'so far as can be known here'. Given that the total membership of the Commission was around 40 this last phrase sounds as though the list of suspects had been sent by Burghley. Sandys adds 'I deale with no Knightes, lest I should be noted to follow affection. But I assure you some of them be of the baddest sorte . . . One man hath brought in the moste part, who will be offended if any be brought in without him'. From Sandys' individual comments it is clear that Burghley's interest was in general suitability, not solely in suspicions of recusancy, though this was a relevant consideration. The comment on Ryther is: "This man is noted to be a soure, subtile Papist, and brought into Commission in respect thereof, readie to hinder any matter that shall touche any papist. He dependeth upon Sir Thomas Fairfax to make good his evill causes, a man unprofitable for the Common Wealthe, and full of contention".³³ Ironically enough the comment on Thomas Wentworth¹⁵ also notes 'He dependeth wholly upon him that brought him in'. One cannot but suspect that Sir Thomas Fairfax was the knight Sandys had in mind and that Ryther and Wentworth were both Fairfax men; if so Ryther's reference to the Fairfaxes in his first letter from Newgate could hardly have been more ill-judged.³⁴ Although the families of Fairfax and Bellasis were linked by marriage, and both were evidently cultivated by Ryther, neither seems to have endangered its local standing by being seen to favour the old religion; Ryther's aim may well have been no more than to be on good terms with the powerful.

The connection with William Plompton of Plompton may have had more serious

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29. HMC Salisbury XIII, p. 520. The writer had lent 'Rydder' £80, was lending him another £65, and would like a loan from Douglas.
30. Inq. p.m.: Guildhall MS 6538.
31. YAJ 56, p. 118 and n. 12.
32. Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman* (1959), p. 110. For the frequency of wardships in Yorkshire at this time see J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry* (1969), pp. 129-30, and for the work of the courts in general H. E. Bell, . . . *History and Records of the Courts of Wards and Liveries* (1953).
33. BL/MS Lansd. LII, 63, ff. 182-4. This was published by J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (1708/9) III. ii. App. xxviii, but with many inaccuracies in the individual comments. Sandys' informant identified individuals by initials only, but a secretary of Burghley's wrote in the names.
34. See Cliffe, *op. cit* in n. 32, pp. 241-3, on the crypto-catholic element in the magistracy at this date and for the Privy Council's efforts to reduce this.

implications so far as recusancy was concerned though equally it may have been no more than that of neighbouring landlords with mutual interests in the management of their estates. But Plompton (1544-1602) had a recusant wife, two sons who were recusants, was himself presented as a recusant in 1582 and afterwards as a non-communicant. He associated with recusant relations and the family maintained a centre for Catholic gatherings at Spofforth Castle.³⁵ In Gargrave's list³⁶ he is placed in the category 'more or less evil' along with Sir William Fairfax of Gilling; and he had been Attorney General to Queen Mary. Anyone trying to incriminate Ryther would find corroborative evidence here: that he remained suspect is evident from one of the last references to him before his death, a letter reporting to Richard Topcliffe, the notorious interrogator of Catholic suspects, that a letter had been received 'from Mr. Ryther in the Fleet'.³⁷

Nonetheless it would be going beyond the evidence to maintain that a suspicion of recusancy was a material factor in the chain of events which brought Ryther to his dismal end. Indeed he was, one would think, hardly of sufficient importance to be reckoned dangerous in this respect. The name Ryther does not appear in any of the three contemporary lists³⁸ which survive of Yorkshire families of that period with Catholic sympathies, though Gargrave's of 1572 is followed by the words 'many mo evyll and dowlfull' and no great significance need be attached to the omission of a relatively unimportant family. Indeed it would be surprising if a newcomer such as James Ryther, with ambitions to rebuild his family's fortunes, had not in those troubled times judged it prudent to keep his religious affiliations flexible. Following Mary, Queen of Scots' imprisonment in Bolton Castle (July 1568-January 1569) and the subsequent Rebellion of 1569 there ensued 'an era of suffering and hardship unparalleled in the history of English Catholicism':³⁹ the Earl of Huntingdon's presidency of the Council of the North was a period of savage persecution: of course Catholic sympathisers kept their heads down and of course a James Ryther would try to keep his options open: and if Burghley took a cynical view of the references in Ryther's letters to the undesirably Catholic superstitions and practices still to be found in Yorkshire⁴⁰—and with Sandys' letter in mind he can hardly have done otherwise—we still hardly seem to have grounds for conjecturing that recusancy was a determining factor in Ryther's eventual confinement. The harsh treatment meted out to him, in days when it was normal for gentlemen to run into debt,⁴¹ remains unexplained.

Finally, on the subject of personal links, we have Ryther's association with the Clifford (Cumberland)/Dudley (Warwick)/Parr(Northampton) connection, for which see notes 1-3 YAJ 56, p. 116; but it does not seem to have brought him any tangible advantage. The references to it are confined to the period July 1589 to July 1594, the former being the date of a deed, of which Ryther is named as a witness, conveying the Clifford castles and estates in Westmorland from the Earl of Cumberland and his brother to trustees who

35. H. Aveling, 'The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1599-1790', *Procs Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc.* X vi (1963), pp. 196-306; see also YAJ 56, p. 100, n. 1 and above, n. 8.

36. See J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the History of Yorkshire* (1872) for Sir Thomas Gargrave's list of 18 Sept. 1572.

37. HMC *Salisbury V*, p. 39, dated 17 Dec. 1594.

38. See Cartwright, *op. cit.* in n. 35 for lists of Gargrave (1572) and of Abp. Sandys of 28 Oct. 1577; also E. Peacock, *A list of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604* (1872).

39. Cliffe, *op. cit.* in n. 32, p. 174.

40. There are at least nine such in the descriptions of Yorkshire (YAJ 56) and one in Letter X. Halifax and Dent are both 'well affectid to religion'.

41. In his bill of complaint of 9 June 1593 Hare declares that Ryther 'stood outlawed (convicted of debt) at the least twelve several times', a charge which, though irrelevant to the present case, Ryther virtually admits to have been the case, while claiming that they had all been discharged 'by her Majesty's most gracious pardon' unless, that is, some had arisen from his being bound by other men's debts 'of no great value or importance'. I am informed that in the Close Roll index in the PRO there are a number of entries, all of Yorkshire, for a James Rider owing money.

included the Earls of Kent and Warwick.⁴² At this date Ryther was one of the Members of Parliament for Appleby, a borough in the nominal patronage of the Earls of Cumberland. The deed shows him in impeccable company so far as loyalty to the Crown was concerned and seems to be the single surviving record of his activity as a Member of Parliament.

After James Ryther's death the disputes with Hugh Hare and his associates were continued in the Star Chamber by James's daughters Edith, Mary and Ellen (Helen) into the year 1597.⁴³ This phase, which lies outside our present context, awaits study. Our present conclusion, albeit in the words of the son of Ryther's rough neighbour, Thomas Wentworth, must remain that quoted in the first part of this article: 'Butt his proud overweening condition, albeitt he had especiall good giftes of nature, brought him to dye in the Flete for debt and his sonne . . . to sell all his inheritance . . .'.⁴⁴ Sir William Wentworth continued that 'Mr. Robert Ryther, being a yong man, greatlie indepted for his father and something for him self, resolved to sell Harwood, using therin the especiall councell and confidence of the Countesse of Cumberland and Sir Robert Stapelton, both of them persons much experienced and verie politique . . .'. Robert left Harewood for Belton in the Isle of Axhome, Lincolnshire, where he had married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Browne of Belton on 25 April 1626, and where he was buried on 10 April 1637. His previous marriages to Mary Swyfte of Rotherham and to Eleanor Oglethorpe of Roundhay (widow of John Savile's son Henry) had ended, the first by divorce. His son and grandson, both named Robert, succeeded him at Belton, but the latter, by his will (proved 27 May 1696), settled his estates upon his sixth cousin, John Ryther of Scarcroft, upon failure of his own issue and in order 'to preserve the Lands in our ancient Family, which is now very inconsiderable, in comparison of the great Estates heretofore enjoyed in the Counties of York, Lincoln and elsewhere, by our extravagant Ancestors'.⁴⁵

42. Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, Hotham MSS, Box 35.

43. PRO/STAC 5/R35/10, 39/13, 24/39, 29/25, 40/27. RMB adds: see also W. P. Baildon (ed.), *Des Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593-1609* (1884), p. 85. The case, opened on 26 Oct. 1597, is there described as between James Rither of Yorkshire and his four sons against Hugh Hare of the Inner Temple and Sir John Savile of Yorkshire and others for falsifying a verdict, riot and other misdemeanours. It was postponed to 11 Nov. and apparently never heard. The four 'sons' are clarified by a reference in HMC Salisbury VII, p. 540, giving 'Edith Rither and her three sisters' and the charges as 'maintenance, practising to procure a false verdict, riotous entries without authority etc'.

44. YAJ 56, p. 98. final para.

45. T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), pedigree of the lords of Harewood between pp. 168-9. After the sale of Harewood to Sir William Wentworth in 1600 it passed to his son Thomas, Earl of Strafford, was sold by the second earl to Sir John Cutler in 1657 (by then the castle was ruinous), and was later bought by Henry Lascelles. His son built the present Harewood House to replace Gawthorpe Hall in 1759. His descendant, the Earl of Harewood, still owns the estate.

I

(MSS Lansdowne LIV.53 (f.141))

To the right honorable his verie good Lorde
the Lorde High Tresorer of Inghland at the Court

Presumyng upon your Lordships accustomyd favor, as allso pryncypally in dischardge of a chardge delyvered to me by her Maiesty,¹ I do caste in my counter (as the adage is) in two causis concernyng me but as the rest, save that I am tyed in more straight bondes of dewty then such other as have not tastyd so great gracys, and withall I often think with my selfe that if every trustyd with auctoryty in this common wealth, howe mean so ever, wolde in burden of mynde bear his portion of the care dewe to his country, yt wolde myghtyly eas your Lordship, upon whom so great a waight of this State taketh stay. But for the more parte we rather care for auctoryty, then in auctoryty.

I fynde a great grudg and murmuring amongst the people of thes partes agaynst the marchauntes of York and Hull, such as have dealt with corne thes ij last years. The saying is comon that Hull & York thes ij years have hyndred the comyng in of corne and turnyd ships back of other countris to other placys of less need, for their owen pryvat gaynes to utter such corne as them selves buy at a much greater pryce then other marchauntes of Inghland have don. Yt is also sayde that they have kept much corne tyll yt be marde and then cast yt into the ryver, which to confyrm thus much I knowe that of late poore men have bought corne at York and caryed yt far, and when they made proof of yt at home yt wold make no bred but was rotten, and som corne at the sayle layed above yt for shewe that was sound and good. Againe about vj weeks sythens, at my going up to London ry was solde for viij grotes ijd the bushell, London measur, or neer theraboutes, wher yt is nowe solde for viijs, and none to be had for dyvers that lack. Yt hath ben often this somer sold at Newcastill, but L myles hence, for halfe the prise that heer yt held at that self tyme.

Thes do manyfest great disorders in buying and selling; and for York I have allwais thought yt the woorst governyd cytty, so well sytuat for their owen and cuntryes good, that is to be found—I mean by their towen magistrates, eyther for their pollycy of helping us or inriching them selves, and dryve the rych to other placys for their provition.² Yt is well knowen that dyvers in thes partes have peryshed this year by famyn. And nowe as lyke as ever an accydent at Selby did aryse, from the occation peryllus when corne was at the cheapest ther and all thes west partes comyng in for yt, one Lawrence Robynson of York cam from home of purpose to rayse the pryce,³ having much corne of his owen and partners on the ryver at that towen; a westerne man that cam thither to by corne, percevinge his purpose, had lyke to have slayne him and cwold hardly be withholden from the deed, gyving out this reson, 'Better I dy for kylling thee, then so many people shold perysh for food by thy means'. With much ado Robynson gat away with lyfe. I leave [to] your Honors grave consideracion what this might have growen to, yf he had ben kyllled and the rest of the people had maytayned this deed for

1. Ryther had been in London six weeks previously (below, para. 2) and it is quite possible that he took the oath to the Queen as Justice of the Peace on that occasion. (For the form of oath see Beard, C.A., 'The office of Justice of the Peace in England', *Columbia University Studies in History* . . . XX.1. 1904. Specimens of the Queen's instructions to J.P.s are printed in the appendix to this article). The exact date of his appointment is uncertain (YAJ 56 (1984), p. 98 n.18) and it is possible that he had already been acting as a member of the Commission for a year or so, since, according to Archbishop Sandys' letter to Burghley of 23 September 1587 (Lansdowne LII.63, ff. 182-4) he had been brought in through local influence to support the recusant cause.
2. Repeated in the Description of Yorkshire (YAJ 56, p. 101, 1.29).
3. Robinson was free of York as a merchant in 1561, chamberlain 1575, sheriff 1578-9, alderman 1588, and died March 1589.

good, as lyke ynof they wold, & when one such act shall set them over the shooes they force lyttell how far they wade in woorse.

Another thing I must commend to your Honor, that I heer a yonge lawyer of this country hath gotten execution of the Secretarys office to her Mayestis Counsell heer establyshed.⁴ I have somewhat heedfully notyd the courses of thinges in that court, and to my cost. I have obsarvyd allso som doyngs of such as have ben in that place, and cwold in pertycular sett downen such seen experyments as better wold open my knoweldge in this matter then agree with your Lordships leysure. But this out of all my collections I can well assuredly affyrme, that the place is not meet for any man of this country, for any so youngly knowen—or rather yet unknowe—in any prooffe to your Honors of the State, but rather for a man of the south partes borne & brought up, of small kynred or allyance heer, for a man experyensid, provid and approvid by som or other of your Lordships to be of trust and judgment. And the more I embolden my self to delyver my symple sensure in this to your Honor, for that I do yt not in respect of any adverse mynde to the mann, of whom I have in trewth harde dyversly, but meerly of regard to the good of the country I lyve in, though borne far hense. I cwold never yet see inhabytant of thes partes meet by many degrees to perform the dew to that place appertaynyng, for I take yt a very suffycyently furnyshed man may well dysboorse all his good partes in dischardg of that chardge.

And so I do humbly crave your Lordships favor and pardon.
Harwood, this xxith of July 1587

Your Honors as in dewty becomyth me
James Rither.

II

(MSS Lansd. LIV. 60 (f.154))

To the wryght honorable his very good Lord,
the Lord Highe Tresorer of England

Your Honors fatherly mynde to this countrie emboldnythe me yet once againe to troble the same with a cause at this present needfully to be respektide. The poore people of thes partes ar growen, and yet do growe, to great and perillus numbers, and now that charyty waxeth colder by reson the more able, which ar the greater parte of thes poore, ar expectid to woork in harvest, in trewth they fall to stealinge and to other unlawfull accctions hardly to be repressid for their generallyty, and trewe people that go abroad about their lawfull busynes this tyme of harvest are at home extremly iniured with the pyllferings of thes vagrant persons. The causes of the extraordinary nombres of thes have greatly growen by the hardnes of som rich men that have this year put away servaunts & woorkfolke, which in other yeares they usually kepte; allso the unablenes of many that put servaunts away because they cwolde not keep them, corne rysinge to so hie a price and the trades of clothinge fallinge to so lowe a rate as in the confynes of this

4. Ralph Rokeby the younger was appointed Deputy Secretary to the Council in the North in July 1587. (The Secretary, Robert Beale, was also Clerk to the Privy Council and so the northern post was virtually in the hands of his deputy; two years later Rokeby became joint Secretary with Beale.) Rokeby, who was admitted to The Queen's College, Oxford, in 1562 along with two brothers, one of whom was only 15, can hardly have been born later than 1540. By the standards of those days he was anything but young, and indeed he died in 1595. He was accounted a man of learning ('the best canonist of his time'). Ryther's insinuations seem to have been as ill founded as his innuendo that he himself would have been a more suitable appointee is transparent.

shier woole is solde for ijs iiijd a stone. Againe the idellnes of the common sorte that lean upon plenty, never expectynge need, which ar indeed our ordynary poore and ar allso more abundant in thes partes by reson our lardge wastes & commons lye unmanured, which were able to take up to tylladge many more idell people then wee have, but our use is heer at unlawfull tymes in ryotus manner to cast downe inclosures, thoughe warrantid by lawe,⁵ and yf not this way, yet the rich that indeed carry away the proffit of thes commons do send in the poore exclaymynge to keep them selves still in poore estate.⁶ Too savage a thinge yt is in a land of so cyvell government to see so many people unimployd for lacke of lande, and so much land frutles for lac of people. I call it fruteles in respect of the comodytyes yt wolde bringe to the comonwelth if yt were managid with more ten folde that yt nowe doth,⁷ and our people heer in thes north partes gone into other countries⁸ before they be arrestid with the idellnes of this, ar moste painfull & industrius.

May yt please your Lordship in support of the generall reformynge of thes disorders for the poore to adresse your lettres eyther to her Majestys Counsell heer establyshed or to the Justice of Peace, so as by direction from your Lordships of the State a discreation might be had between the impotent & able poore, and thes able aplied to woork now when they may be imployed, the only unable to be releevyd as the lawe appointeth. The tyme is nowe so favorable to the execution of this lawe, as the most of her Majestis good subjects wolde in all their indevors further the same because the waight of such nombres as nowe wander about is importable: yt is ordynary that in som places iij or iiij xx dayly com to som one door for their allmes. And thoughe necessity hath this passed dearth imboldned many to borrowe of the lawes for releevyng such of other parishes as had been sure otherwise to have harvist & other lyke expedyent occations, will restore thes idell persons to woork & the rest that ar able & will contynewe unproffitable to punyshment.

I do most humbly crave your Lordships grace & pardon.
Harwood, this vijth of August 1587.

Your Honors ever bound in dewty
James Rither.

post scripsi, many inconvenyencys arise in this country by many alehouses, those many and needles alehowses by an evell use of taking money for lycences, which whether the Justyces or etc. men⁹ take I can not affirm for certayn, but most trew yt ys that the taking of mony in som hundrethes dubbleth the requisite nombre. Thes not to [be] helpid but from above.

III

(MSS Lansd. LIV. 78 (f.184))

To the right honorable his singular good Lord
the Lord High Tresurar of England at the Court
give thes

Most humbly I do beseech your Lordship to pardon my boldnes in delyveringe my dislyke of the late imployment of a gentilman of this county in a place (as I take yt) very

5. Cp. Letter X, n.32 and YAJ 56, p. 111, line 11.

6. Elliptical: spelt out at YAJ 56, p. 111, lines 12-13, 'will send in all the poore who inhabyt neer to make outcries to the magistrat that they ar undon'.

7. that = than (*OED s.v. (conj.)*, 9).

8. Cp. YAJ 56, p. 109, lines 3-4.

9. Cp. Letter VI, para. 2.

unsortyng for one of his sewt. Yt is younge Mr Belassis,¹⁰ the eldist soon of Sir Willyam, a man of very weak constytution of body and subiect to many infirmities, but for partes of the mynd I dare gauge my credyt to your Lordship his lyke for all towardnes of disposytyon in govern[ance] or otherwise in any soundnes of judgment was never bred in this country synce my tyme of abode heer, which is now fower above twenty years. Lett this prooffe suffice for som portion of his prayse: he was only one year in the Comysion of Peace, but synce that tyme the eldist, and in effect all, the Justyces of that part ar glad to feach light at his torch, and indeed synce the death of old Dalton¹¹ no man more suffycient of skill in the north of this shier. Our country hath such need of many by reson it doth so seldom yeald any such, as his lykes amongst us ar rather to be wished then found.

This gentleman taking by apointment an hundreth footemen to the borders was put to lye with only xxv of them in a place (as yt is nowe sayd) most shott at by the bludy and inhuman cruelty of that savage nation. What massacre is made of his men and howe narrow his owen way of eskafe was I need not inform your Honor: the hasard I say of a great loss to a ground that so much needyth and so seldom bredyth such. I fear me the uprightnes of the gentleman was more then stood with som of their good lyking that put him forward. Haply your Honor shall not heer this comendacion confirmyd at all handes that know hym, because we do heer use rather to envy then imytate so good dysposytion though yt fallow our neer kinsmen. In the syngle and syngular desyer I have to the good of my country (God is my judg) I do open this one myslyke to your Lordship; but our dysorders heer grow comon and greater then we can eyther well bear or easily remedy, as at my comyng up (which must be so shortly as with dewty I may) your Honor shalbe further advertysed.

Vi-weekes ar now passyd sythene I shold hav ben at London for my owen importing occatyons, but thassosyats of the peace in thes partes ar becom so fewe by the late dysplacyng of many, by the sycknes and deathe of som, as also by the absence of other som, that such ar fayn to sarve in iij partes of the shyer as were wont to sarve only yn one hundreth: from the Lybertys of York to the edge of Lankyshire, neer to the comon passage betwen them ther is but one Justicer left.¹² By which and other unforeseen accyidents yt falleth out that our sarvyses are generally, and by pertycular causes somtym not unworthyly, blamyd by her Majesty and your Honors of the high senat, when such as indevor and indeed do desarve better bear yet nevertheless more then theyr dewe shares of the burden of others oversights.

I do humbly comend my sarvice to your Honor and the same to the Allmighty.
Harwood, this ixth of December 1587

Your Honors in dewty desyerus
James Rither

10. Henry (1555-1624) was the third son of Sir William Bellasis of Newburgh and his wife Margaret (née Fairfax), whose two elder sons died young. Like his father, he was a J.P. for the North Riding, an M.P. (for Thirsk and Aldborough), Sheriff of Yorkshire, and a member of the Council in the North, being created baronet in 1611. His memorial and that of his wife, Ursula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax of Denton, is in the north choir aisle of York Minster, his father's in the chancel of Coxwold church.
11. Roger Dalton of Kirby Misperton (d. 1587) served on the Commission from 1562 (or earlier) until his death.
12. Perhaps Richard Mauleverer of Arncliffe (cp. *Y.A.J.* 56, p. 111, n.86 and p. 117, n.5—where the back reference should be to n.86).

IV

(MSS Lansd. LVII. 14 (f.38))

To the ryght honorable my verie good lord
The Lord Highe Tresorer of England

In thes tymes of expectid troubles¹³ (right honorable) the zeal dew to my country, which can not well be conteynyed within his apointyd lymytts must break out, I hope excusably. God having blessed your wysdomes to our peace thes many years past, yet this vicisitude so conversant in humain courses will at length woork his efect; eternall peace is by thallmighty established in heaven only.

This periured nation next ours is that which I am most jellius over, to whom this verse may well be aplyed: *Pax Scotiae interdum, pacis fiducia nunquam, gens vere punica*. An old writer sayth they ar a nation by nature delighting in frawd & treson, which want of force by necessity doth often forward, as Achelous said: *Inferior virtute, meas divertor ad artes*.¹⁴ If they usid such in defence of their owen and expectid not greater rewardes of their arte, *quid nunc expectandum quum spes et metus gemina ope concurrunt?* What shall I speake of the gyftes and plausible woordes offred by thes and other our enymyes woorse to be lyked then their drawen swoordes but as the Troian,¹⁵ wyse in counsell & faythfull to his country sayd by the fatall horse: *Quicquid id est timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Comonly under such plesaunt baytes ly hyden the bytter hookes of such as fysh for our landes, lyves, lybertyes & lawes. Of all other most worthely did the Italien pronowence thes woords, 'I will not owe my lyfe to the enymy of my country'.

My Lord, I was born in Kent, brought up in Northamptonshier, dwell now in Yorkshier, and am often conversant with the people of Kendall, and havinge taken notice of the dyfferent disposytions with som narrow observations of thes severall inhabytants, I fynd yt an infallable certanty, that the further north the less trewth, which rule they say heer reachyth hence into the hart of Skotland. It is needfull to gyve an ey to the backdoore. If the Skottes be our frendes, we may well call them our backfrendes, for we have seldom had to do with our foes before but they have stryken at us behynde: an old English adage: *omne malum ab aquilone*.¹⁶

Our forces & myndes of this country ar a mach for all Skottland, yf conduct be answerable. Barwyke is thought by the wyser sort heer to be forgotten, considering the clang of thes dayes, but trewly our Lord Lyvetennant¹⁷ assisted with vi meaner Lords ar all painfull and carefull noble men, yf that wyll suffice. Yet in common reson such as busyly guyde a barge in a calme will not easily rule a greater vessell for a storm. In myne owen conceyt I nowe performe the partes of Apelles shomaker,¹⁸ but because many thinges have been of late reformyd heer by your Honors dyrection, I do imbolden my self the more, of thes to delyver my dym inspect, which somwher ofred workith no such effect, for that yt is not everywher so well taken as ment. God is my judge, whose good favor guyd all your Honors courses, tending ever to his glory & our good.

Harwood, xviith July 1588

Your Lordships most humbly . . .

13. The English and Spanish fleets first made contact in the Channel on 21 July. The Armada had sailed in mid-May, since when there had been intense activity in preparing resistance, impounding Catholics, etc.

14. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* ix, 12.

15. Laocoon in Virgil, *Aeneid* II. 49. The 'Italien' remains unidentified.

16. 'Out of the North all ill comes forth' is the version in the *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*.

17. The Earl of Huntingdon. Since 1568 the post had been held by the President of the Council in the North. See Gladys Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century*, 1923.

18. Pliny, *Natural History* xxxv, 84/5. A cobbler had the effrontery to point out to the painter Apelles that he had shown the wrong number of ties on a sandal. Hence, too, the proverb: 'Cobbler, stick to your last'.

V

The Description of Yorkshire (Lansdowne CXIX. 8 (ff. 109-22)), printed in *YAJ* 56 (1984), pp. 100-115.

VI

(MSS Lansd. LIX. 11 (f.20))

To the wryght honorable his very good Lord,
the Lord Highe Tresorer of England

Pardon me (noble Sir) somtymes to intermytt your moste waightie occations with my triflinge woords, which from your Lordships rare methode of government may somewhat digresse, but not altogether differ. The Clark of Peace for Yorkshier tolde me a fewe daies sithence that a letter is gyven out from your Honors of the immedyat auctoryty to our Justices of Peace in the same countie, importinge matter for the suppressinge of our inordynat numbers of typlinge howses.¹⁹ The consideracion is grave & greatly needfull, yet no weed can be taken quight away by the cuttinge of but by the rootinge out, no disease cured but by removinge the cause. And therfore I purposed to have attended on your Lordship for gyvinge in my conseit of the causes occasioning the exessive nombres of thes brothell howses, when yesterday the said Clark, performynge his promyse, showed to me a copie of the said letter, wherunder a postscript was sett downen particular by your Lordship, which being effected rooteth up the causes for ever.

I hav harde yt credibly said by such as saw it, that in Knarisbrough Justices Clarks of no mean sort have gon away with their hatt crowens filled with money raised by alehowses lycenses. Myself yet, that never did sytt so erect, have procured this last year sessions in two partes of the country for suppressinge many, but all this avayles nothings, for they ar forthwith revived without lycence. But they needid not to have ben arrested in those partes if warnynge might have sufficed, for I sent in notice to those that sitt upon their former admyttancis of such alehowses as were not meet. This notwithstandinge, all were admytted that brought in money & sewrties, howe mean soever. Lykewise for highewais I have procured sytings, but what can one amongst so many, when Hercules was trobled with two?

This is yet not the cause of my nowe writinge, but only the admyracion I have howe your Lordship, beinge so far distant from us, sholde harpe so evenly upon the right stringe; not for nothings it was that the antiquity called wisdom by the name of Appollo—the soon seeyth far and into many corners.²⁰ My pen is to mean to afford prayses sewtable for such a proficient of wisdom (I mean not ours), yet this I knowe by readinge that the reache of profound wisdom dothe, by remembraunce of thynges fore don, devyne verie far of thinges to be don. Heerof it cam that the auncyent payans demed wisemen to be prophets, & that deep sensed poet Virgill douted not to write this of hymself, yet for modestys sake under another name: *Et me fecere poetam Pierides vatem pastores sed non ego credulus illis*. Lykewise the famus hystoriographer Livie, of whom St

19. See *Acts of the Privy Council 1588*, pp. 371-2 (letter of Dec 1588).

20. Homer praysith the soon as lyketh thing to god for givinge lyfe & light: *est sapiens vates ipsis dominantibus astris*. (Marginal note in original.) Ryther evidently quoted from memory and the Latin tags in this letter are all, to a greater or lesser extent, misquotations. *Est sapiens* . . . is untraced. The references for the others are: *Et me* . . . Virgil, *Eclogues IX*, 32-4; *quam Magnitudine* . . . and *Eo perventum est* . . . Livy, *Preface*, sections 4, 9, 12; *ne non* . . . Terence, *Eunuch 2.2.44*; *Augusto imperante* . . . Tacitus, *Annals XV*, 44; the Sybil and Pollio, Virgil, *Eclogue IV*.

Jehrom gyvith this grave testimony, that when his woork cam first into the worlde they were not content in most remote partes from Rome to read it, but to satisfie their further admyracion they came from those costes to see the man that had so written—this Lyvy I say, in the short, waighty prologe of his longer woork prophesieth that Rome was fallinge by these woords: *quod magnitudine laborabat sua*. Easily cwold the wiseman see that the empier Rome atayned to the hiest tope might still move & therfor dissend, *ne non vicisitudo sit in humanis*. Nay, he goeth further, for by this woorde followinge he showeth by what way yt shall com downen from his hight. *Eo perventum est ut nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati posumus, tantam fecem gentium extraneorum per abundantiam pacis, per luxum et libidinem inbibere Romani*.

But nowe to leave those deepe, wise payans to their tymes & places, lett us of this age and countrie with that worthie Queen of Saba (whose lyke we lyve under) say that happie is the meanyst person attending upon such a Salomon in place wher they may dayly heer hym, & most happie wee all that enioy such as God in his mercy grant us longe.

My lodginge in London, this xxvith of January 1588.

honori tuo deditissimus

James Rither

The cause of so many exellent writers about Christ his tyme, as thes ij and others then florishing in the Romain empier was the unyversall peace establishid by Christ. his presence. So Virgill saw yt was the tyme promysed by Sibils prophecyes, but he mystooke the childe, aplieng yt to Pollios young son. Virgill florished in Augustus tyme & was most deer to hym. *Augusto imperante natus est Christus, Tiberio crucifixus*.

VII

(MSS Lansd. LXI. 36 (ff. 116-7))

To the right honorable his very good Lord
the Lord highe Tresorer of England

Many ar the perswations lyeing upon your Lordship to take this cause of greefe as becomethe your gravitie,²¹ and though Socrates and Phosion ar suffisinge wyttnessis that deepe, wyse myndes ar seldom movyd with intemperat joies or immoderat sorrowes, the uncomlynes of both which Plutark condemnyth, yet all this cannot dyscharge my dewtie burdenynge me with your Lordships care in respect of my privat, but more for the common good of my country, knowinge that a myte, whence myght can aford no more, will be acceptid. And yf the greefes in respect of your Lordships greef for this cause imposed upon the backes of all the best affectid subiectes of this realme—yea and upon our soveraigne herself—might ease your Lordship, no dout the waight shold then bee moste light and easy, wher the burden nowe lyeth most heavy and painfull; by which this comfort may accrew to your Lordships mynde, that nexte her Maiestie all the good hope of all good men in their good causis princypally depend upon your Lordships health, lyfe, and healp.

Your honor dayly sayeth to God, 'Thy will be don'; yf we cwold all at all tymes so think, ther cwold no adversyty com to man, for our crosses com only of discontentment with his will that must commaund all willes, who, as he is best, doth all for our best, yf

21. Strype, accepting Ryther's date of 7 April 1588, took this letter as referring to the death of Burghley's mother, Jane Heckington, on 10 March 1587/8. However, the original is endorsed by a contemporary hand (presumably that of a secretary of Burghley): '7 Ap. 1589 Mr James Rither to my L(ord)'. It seems clear that 1589 is correct and that the reference is to the death of Burghley's second wife, the Lady Mildred (née Cooke) on 4 April. They were married on 21 December 1545.

we do not opose our selves against our soveraigne good; and this is manyfest that to Christians ther ought no cross to seem bytter, because wee all know that he whych dyd no syn endured woorse from our synnes then he offryth to any of us from our owen. And all adverse accyidentes, be they never so much against our myndes, we ar yet assured that they do eyther exersise in patience, correct to amendment, or satissfie the marcyfull justice of God. Can we then within any compas of our dewties think other wyse, when Paulus Emelius the pagan, yet a most woorthy and noble pyller to the comon wealth of his country, took the loss of his only ij soones, chauncyng immedyatly after he had prosperusly delyvered the empier from a daungerus enymy,²² to be a satisfaction for the justice of the gods, having so good cause of offence against the Romans, now by their contynewall good succes & greatnes growen newly into the vices of such nations as by their olde vertuus disciplyne they had subdued. Your Lordship may compare with him for the stay, state, and delyvery of your country, but your causes of comfort left do so far exceed his, as the nombre of impes growen out of your noble howse excell the nombre of none.²³

But as your Lordship lookes to reape comfort of thes remayning, so you must with a cheerfull harte offre up to God your patient consent for such as he hath taken. Your honor is a Christyan: he was an ethnyk that not only gave solace to hym self but allso comforted the common wealth mournyng generally for his loss, and all this he did for the transitory glory of this lyfe. Your Lordship must do yt for the glory that shall never dy. And to draw your Lordships ey further from thes present causis of sorrow ynto the manyfolde blessinges yet left you by God, your Lordship I say may lyve happily and longe, because your age is undersett with all comfortes of this instant, and the world to com. The wyse man said trew, his lyfe was deer to few whose death is lamentyd of none. But this late weak lady, by the devyne providence longer lent to your Lordship then by human reson cwold be expectid, as she is for her owen sake of many lamentyd much, so more for your Lordships cause, least nature, who will have her course, though with the more wise the less whyle, shold in your Lordship excell nurtuer and by persinge²⁴ care cut of som of your yeares by sooner death, whose lyfe is so deer and nessessary to many.

The only ornament of the ded is the teares of the good sort, to the which most honorable obsequie and epitaph as is, your Lordship may rest assured, to com, so that it may be late all good subiectes hartely wysh & dayly pray. Amonge the rest I, the meanyst in many respectes, yet not hyndermost in harty desier of your honors long contynewance heer, to the glory of God and comfort of your country, your Lordships principall care, do now remain more satisfied then before I had delyvered my symple indevor. Sacam, this vijth of Aprill 1588.

Your honors ever desyerus in all dewtye
James Rither

VIII

The description of Dent and Sedbergh ('The Postcript'), printed in *YAJ* 56 (1984), pp. 116-118.

22. Lucius Aemilius Paullus (d. 160 B.C.) was consul in 182 and 168. His two younger sons died aged 14 and 12 within a few days of the triumph awarded for his victory over King Perseus of Macedon at Pydna; see Plutarch, *Lives*, Aemilius xxxv.

23. 'impes' = scions, with no suggestion of mischievousness but implying youth. The reference must be to Burghley's grandsons, of whom there were then five (William, Richard, Edward, Christopher and Thomas), children of his eldest son Thomas, as well as eight granddaughters, to be joined in 1591 by William, the son of Robert Cecil.

24. persinge: piercing.

IX

(MSS Lansd. LXIV. 72 (ff. 168-9))

To the right honorable his singular good Lord
the Lord High Tresorer of England

By long obsarvance I have ever notyd (right honorable) the people of this ysle, though allwais devided by the auncyent enmyties of England and Skotland, yet the neerer any parte of our pale is to Skotland the less enmyty, the more accordance in manners (not that the Skottes take of us but wee of them, as the evell is ever more infectyve then the good). Greatly in the far north partes is commendid the espetiall praises which the King of Skottes shold give oflate to all northern gentillmen, with his more regard of them then of the rest. Then the pulling downe of the Lord Ambasadors armes by night, being sett up over the doore of his lodging in Skotland²⁵—thes thinges I cwold not heer, being about the court when my said Lord returned, albeyt I was much conversant with som northren gentylmen that had ben that jorney. But bee thes rumors fals or trewe, they ar rimes²⁶ by which wee may easily spie into their myndes throwough thes speechis what they lyke.

Also out of thes partes I perceve dyvers that have horses to sell and were woont to cary them to the great horse fayer at Malton in the east partes of this shier ar now purposed to go to Kaerlyle with them. They found means ynow to convey them into Skotland from more inward fayers.²⁷ But whie shold that needy nation esteem our horses at a greater prise then our owen country people do? for yt is the hope of Skottes menne that drawe these horses to Kaerlyle, and so the sellers confess. Ther are also that sattell dweling that way upon no substantiall causis that I can learn. I wysh no moe fugytyves thither, for they wach a tyme of returne which they will by all means hasten. Pardon my conesynt (good my Lord); yt is Kentysh, as far from the condicions of thes in mynde as in country, and yet as neer fully as the Skott is in good will to the trew English.

We have many Skottysch wyttes amongst us; the borderers property of taking more then his owen (for they never steal) is gotten so into us that catell, sheep & horses were never so hard to keep from theeves handes even in the hart of this shier as now. The complaintes are many and great, the redress small. The Lord in his marcy graunt us all trew English hartes and presarve our such vigilanþ presarvars as he hathe hetherto blessid us with, under this her Maiestys most flourishing empeir, which we humbly beseech hym to contynew in his accostomyd favor.

Harwood, this xxixth of Aug. 1590.

Your Honors most humbly to dyspose
James Rither

25. Robert Bowes. He had served as English Ambassador to Scotland from 1577 to 1583, but was reappointed in 1590 following the death of his successor, William Asheby. No despatches of this latter period seem to survive (the earlier ones have been published as *The Bowes Correspondence*, Surtees Soc. XIV (1842)) and no other reference has been found to this episode of tearing down the coat of arms. For the general situation on the Border see Tough, D.W.L., *The last years of a frontier*, 1928; it was, broadly speaking, quiet at this date.

26. rimes: chinks or clefts.

27. Malton horse fair was held on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Owen's Book of Fairs (McCutcheon, K. L., 'Yorkshire Fairs and Markets' *Thoresby Soc* 39 (1930)) lists over 30 Yorkshire fairs which included horses. The illicit sale of horses into Scotland and consequent shortage south of the Border is regularly cited as a cause of decay in Border service: *Calendar of Border Papers* I. 75, 104; II 746(4); *Acts of the Privy Council 1578-80*, Star Chamber 20 May 1579; *Cal. State Papers Dom. Add. 1580-1625*, pp. 334-5.

X

(MSS Lansd. CVIII. 29 (ff. 50-1))

A forme devised for the erection of a free skoole
and releef of the poore within the parysh and mannor of
Harwood. Ebor.
By James Rither²⁸

*Certe ego non patiar Jovis incunabila Creten
Qui meus est orbis, tantum contingere monstrum*^{28a}

Yf the just kinge Minos cwold not indure such a monster as one wyked woman to com into his country (moste honorable Lorde pardon myne unequall comparison of a cottage with a kynkdom), I cannot without greefe suffer so many evell disposed persons as lyve round about me within my littill cyrcle the mannor of Harwood, *qui meus est orbis*, and wher such as I am discendid from have had a kinde of government under her Maiestys most worthy progenytors sythence the tyme of kinge John, who first did charter the mannor with many libertis, being then in the pocession of Warren fyttys Gerald, the said kinges chamberlayn and to whom it cam from Courcy his dapifer etc.²⁹

This towen was great as that which had xxij freholders within yt, besydes other tennants & many bondmen, but to the whole mannor in tymes passid ther belongid a c freholders at the least, for ther ar within the bounders xxtty towens & hamletts, which for the more part were all given out to relyving howses and to other temporall fretennants.³⁰ This towen and paryshe (consydering the quantyty) for many poore and yll disposid people is not easily machable in all the north partes. The causis ar thes: ther ar many howses & cottagis within yt that have lyttell or no ground lyeng to them, so that yf thes tennants keepe cattall or sheep, as they may do upon the comons in somer, they cannot in wynter releve them wher with to lyve. The cause occationynge thes yll people is the generall defect of the country—lack of education or right institution of ther yowth. From the skoole & rod a chyld will with a good will go to an occupacion, but from an idell lyfe they have no lyst to remove to a better trade & abide yt, neyther ar maysters desyerus to intertayn such as slothe and idellnes have attachid.

Now the reson of thes landless howses cam first by the risynge of Judge Gascoign,³¹ whose father, a rich free holder within that mannor, did buy out betwen them first all the freholders within the township of Harwood, wher their owen howese stood, and so layeng the landes to mak a demayn, left the tenements without ground, as yet they

28. There is no means of dating this more exactly than 1580-90. It is filed among the Burghley papers with other undated items arranged alphabetically by writer. The likelihood is that it belongs to the period of the letters, i.e. not earlier, or not much earlier, than 1587. For instances of Yorkshire schools founded about this time see Tate, W.E., *A. F. Leach as a historian of Yorkshire education*, 1963, and Raistrick, E., *Village Schools: an Upper Wharfedale History*, 1971.

28a. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 99-100.

29. In 1530 Henry Ryther and Richard Redmayn had had confirmed the charter of 1208 granting warren, fair and market at Harewood to their ancestor Warren Fitzgerald (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, IV, 6418 (27)). For the Fitzgerald/de Courci connection see the pedigree of the lords of Harewood in Whitaker, T.D., *Loidis and Elmete*, 1816, between pp. 168-9.

30. I tak yt that the landes gyven to religius howses from this mannor amounteth to vc markes by year of old rent; they had then so bewichid noble men & gentlemen with promyses of salvation of the soules of their auncestors & selves, & prosperity to their offsprings. (Marginal note in original, as are 32 and 34.)

31. Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, d. 1419. In 'The lost Villages of Yorkshire' M. W. Beresford quotes this passage as evidence of Ryther's antiquarian curiosity (*YAJ* 38 (1955), p. 219). His description of Yorkshire (*YAJ* 56 (1984), pp. 95-118) provides ample evidence of such antiquarian interests. But a more immediate reason for the reference to evils stemming from the Gascoignes was the episode of August 1580, in which Thomas Wentworth, the husband of Margaret Gascoigne, the heiress to the Gawthorpe title, was the ringleader—see Introduction.

remayn, but plentyfully stored of begars and barrators. The judgis posterity have sythence bought out many freholders in other partes of this mannor. Another cause of thes poore ys that ther hath ben many cottagis erectid for almose howses by the lorde; thes howses & cottagis as they ar will never be empty nor well fylled. To bringe thes tennants by compulsion to better trades of lyfe yt is not possible as they ar nowe in need, for necessarye and custom ar more mighty then perswation and constraynt. Againe, hungar & famyn cannot be bryddled with hope and fear; entysmentes and correction hav ben long put in experyence & ever in vayn, neyther can thes faltes be remedied any way unless need, ydellness & yll educacion, which ar the rootes of thes weedes, be quight pluckid up.³²

Therefore to redress thes mysorders (right honorable), ther is a help at hand, so yt may be countenancyd by your honorable favors against such as ar indyferent eyther to do no good them selves or to hynder others that wold do good. Ther is within the bounders more wast then inclosyd groundes; the commons ar esteemyd to viij thousand acares, for the more part good ground & so prowde as sheep cannot stand longe that ar heathyd³³ on the lowyst and fattyst partes. My desyer is to lay to every of thes howses & cottagis for ever iij acars of this comon, to be inclosyd from the most noysom, which is the most fertyll soyle thorow out the segnory. For which the tennant shold pay but xiid an acare, being easily woorth v or vis at the least, the rentes of which shalbe gyven to the maintenance of a free skoole forever. And for that the nombre of thes acars will not reach to a compotent portion for the maintenance of a skoole maister and usher, for suply of that defect and for the better restoringe of the towen of Harwood to his auncyent state, havinge ben once a market towen & faires in yt etc standing very well for both and by charter renewyd in this tyme of our most gratius soveraigne that now is,³⁴ I wold also have an oxpasture (which they greatly need) & a cow pasture for thes poore cottagers taken up to the tennants of Harwood by rate of xiid a kow & iis an oxe, the rent to go in lyke manner to the sayd skoole. And whether thes howses belonge to lord or freholder no fyne nor forther rent to be taken of any tenant for thes groundes upon paine of forfeiture. And yf by jury any of the tennants shalbe attaynted of certayn mysdemeanors & faltes, their ground shold be forfeittyd, but no forfeiture longer then for one year, which shold for that tyme go to the proffyt of the poorest & most impotent people of the parish; and one of thes faltes shold be the not sendinge their children to skoole, or other honest imployment at a certayn age. By thes means myght the elder sort (now for the more parte of the year idell) be exersised in their groundes & about their cattell, when they were not sett awoorke & be well able to lyve by their industry, ground & common, which if they will not do, then without skrupell of conscience they may be punyshed or put of, because they may lyve lawfully & will not. Nowe the younger sort shold by learnyng good letters be kept from evell actions. Againe the rycher & more able howses shall be eased of thes poore that now ly all upon their releefe; they shall also lyve free from the breakinge of their howses & barnes and all kinde of pilferings dayly comyttyd. And that which

32. Ther ar a kinde of people in thes partes that claym a lyberty to do & say what they list because they have nothinge to lose but bare lyfe, which they will not hasard yet go so near it somtymes till the rope gett beyond them. This is yll suffred & maketh many barrators.

33. The meaning must be 'pastured', but the word 'heathyd' raises problems. It is not known, as a verb, either to the OED or to Wright (*English Dialect Dictionary*), nor does heath grow on the 'lowyst and fattyst partes' of the moors. To equate it with 'heft' or one of its variants is tempting but linguistically unacceptable, at least without considerable reservations. (I am indebted to Mr. Stanley Ellis of Leeds and Mrs. Heather O'Donoghue of Somerville College, Oxford, for advice on this.) Yet Ryther was interested in words and evidently uses 'heathyd' as nothing out of the normal. Perhaps the answer is to be found in a passage relating to Cumberland and Westmorland which Wright quotes, under HEAF, from *Notes and Queries* of 1872: 'It is now some years past since the fell-flocks, which in rustic speech were termed "heaf-gangin sheep" became to be styled in advertisements "heath-going sheep".'

34. Harwood is a great thoroughfare towen from Lanksher & the west contries to York.

movith my compassion the more to thes poore people is that I may have the most of them to woork with me any woork they can do after iid a day, be yt never so longe, & meat themselves; in hay time for iiijd, in harvyst for iiiid a day; & yf they might be allwais thus sett awoork they wold lyve well & with truth.

This showith that the people wold do well with good guydaunce and assistaunce of superiors, and though this be agreed unto of all thes peopell & that by lawe I might inclose much more to my pryvat use & self profyt yet it wilbe countermyned of som, yf of hyer powers yt be not supported.³⁵ My hope is allso that the ensample of this will do much good because yt ys in a place neer the mydest of the county, somewhat more leanyng toward the soon. I rest upon your Lordships resolution heerin as in all other thinges I may debate but will determyne nothinge of waighte without your Lordships sensure.

Anglia privata est, res semper publica Cicill

*Insula regnandi, maior in arte, minor.*³⁶

Anglia privata est, semper respublica Cicil

Insula, regnandi nobilis arte, minor.

tibi devotissimus.

Js R

XI

(MSS Lansd. LXIX. 46 (ff. 105-6))

To the right honorable my singular good Lord and patron
the Lord high tresorer of England

Right honorable, myne adversaries have not spared any advauntagis of coonyng practises to entrap me at the first; next to use her Maiestis name and proces to lay me in this infamus goall, a place of murtherers, theeves, traytors and outcastes of the worlde; thirdlie, presumynge upon this vile restraint, they gyve out slanders and shamles untrewthes, therbie not fearinge the dew examynation of any thinge they dare suggest,

35. I suspect that this paragraph contains the real purpose of the whole paper. Ryther wanted to add to his estate by enclosing and had accordingly fallen foul of some of his neighbours. As a justice of the peace he represented the central government; he therefore looked to Burghley to strengthen his arm in his local ambitions. The letters contain a number of references to the advantage to the state from an increase in enclosure; and the impotence of a justice acting on his own ('what can one amongst so many?', Letter VI, para 2) is a recurrent theme (e.g. the concluding paragraphs of Letter II and the paragraph beginning 'As Cham . . .' in YAJ 56, p. 107).

36. Jones translates: 'England a private person is, for Cecil is the state, England though little in extent, in art or ruling great'. The alternative (and equally unsuccessful) attempt at this couplet, together with the '? Ovid' against the opening quotation, suggest that this document was a draft, perhaps handed informally to Burghley, and not a formal petition. A possible occasion would have been when Ryther was in London in January 1588/9.

neyther ar they restrayned by any conscience nor fear of God.³⁷ But cheefely those untrewthes do most greeve me which tend to the drawinge of your Lordships favor from me, as that I will pay no man his due, a thinge far from me, and easilie to be provd by this: that no man of my sort in England had better credit in this towen with such as I conversid, beinge both honorable & honest, then I had till I delt with thes Hares *Nomine tantum: subsunt mente lupi vulpina fraude voraces*.³⁸ But synce I had to do with them (beinge first trayned into their daungers by trust) they have used all possible practises to disable me forever to com out of their dett, a coorse wherin theie ar growen perfect by the overthrow of many gentillmens howses. Further, they boldly affirme to your Lordship that the proces by which they did arrest me grew from som other dett then that in the order mentioned. What they dare affirme is unmesurable. Only I desier your Lordship to measure their trewthes in other thinges by their impudency in this suggestion.

Lastlie, to make your Lordship think me a troblesom man to the gentillmen of my countrie, yt hath ben told your Lordship that their is variance betwen me and the Fairfaxes of Yorkshier,³⁹ a thinge contraried on both partes by all offices of perfect frendship, beinge as neerlie tied in blood and by extraordynarie partes as proffessid kindnes one to another, as gentillmen may be.

Now I humble beseech your Lordship to consider this of me: I am a gent not meanly discendid, a poore sarvaunt of her Maiestis, one that hath not so vainlie spent my tyme but I have don her Maiesty good service in my countrie, and hope in the Lord to do yet better, and one that by no desart of myne owen am in this place, but drawen in by synyster extortionus devises, by cooler of her Maiestys proces and pretendid dett to her, which I have paied. And upon your honors grave consideracion in thes I do humblie

37. Hugh Hare's Bill of Complaint against Ryther, dated 9 June 1593, and the latter's answer, dated 20 June, together with other papers in the case, are in the Public Record Office (STAC/5/H2/33) and are discussed in the Introduction. Apart from the reference to the Fairfaxes (n. 39) this letter adds no new points. Its immediate occasion was that, despite a favourable reply which Ryther had received to an appeal to the Queen, Hare 'most insolently and presumptuously abusing Her Majesty's name and person before the Court of Wards (where the plaintiff is clerk)' had dared 'to arrest the defendant's body into Newgate for a sworn said debt to Her Majesty before paid'.

Presumably as a result of Burghley's reply to this letter (see Letter XII) Ryther was moved from Newgate to the Fleet, though the earliest reference to his imprisonment in the latter is dated 13 May 1593 (HMC, *Various II*, *Wombwell*, 107/8). An appeal from the Countess of Cumberland on his behalf dated 15 July 1594 again names Ryther as being in the Fleet (HMC, *Salisbury IV*, 563), where he died at the end of December 1595.

Ryther completely misjudged the power of the Hares. Sir Nicholas, a judge, d. 1557, and his brother, John, a mercer, had respectively three and eight sons, who constituted a powerful and wealthy clan. The two named by Ryther were Hugh and John, the sixth and (?) youngest sons of John. He could hardly have found more influential opponents. Both were Benchers of the Inner Temple and from 1590 shared the Clerkship of the Court of Wards, though it was John who was the dominant figure. 'He was clerk at one of the most important times in the Court's history, when every nerve was strained to increase its revenue and yet when agitation against its extortions had developed'. On top of that the Master of the Court at this date was Burghley himself, with John Hare as his right-hand man. James Ryther was irredeemably outclassed. See Bell, H. E., *History and records of the Court of Wards*, 1953).

38. The Latin presumably Ryther's own, seems rather a jumble. To paraphrase: 'Hares in name only; at bottom they are ravening wolves with the cunning of foxes'. It was an ill-timed and rather pathetic attempt at jocularly.

39. Fairfax was a family of comparable standing ('quasi-feudal', Gleason, J. H., *The Justices of Peace* . . . 1969) with Bellasis and there were several marriage ties between the two. It is very understandable that Ryther should have done his best to cultivate good relations with each, but the blood relationship between Ryther and Fairfax was three generations back. Of more immediate weight may have been that both Sir William Fairfax of Gilling and Sir Thomas Fairfax of Steeton were members of the West Riding Commission of the Peace of 1585, and it was the latter upon whom James Ryther depended for his place on the Commission. However the reference to Fairfax in writing to Burghley could hardly have been more ill-judged, in view of the advice and comments on the Commission which Burghley had received from Archbishop Sandys in his letter of 23 September 1587 (see n. 1).

desier your Lordship to contynew my good lord, to pardon my tediousnes, and vouchsaf
me som favorable conclution of my longe expectid releese from your Lordship.
Newgate, this iijth of Januarie 1591.

Your Lordships most bounden
James Rither

XII

(MSS Lansd. LXIX. 48 (ff. 109-10))

To the right honorable his singular good Lord and patron
the Lord high tresorer of England

Myne humble sewt to your Lordship was that bie such lawe as I was brought hether I
myght be delyvered hence. To subvert justice their ar onlie two arch enmyes: *vis &
versutia*.⁴⁰ Our lawes have remedies for both, but against a lawyer that is at libertie and so
stronglie plotted amongst lawyers and magistrates, a prisoner shall finde no lawe, that
beinge abroad cworld hardlie fynde any for his threttnynge and golde, havinge this
scripture in great letters sett downen in his chamber: *Auro loquente nil pollet quaevis oratio*.⁴¹

I did and do therfore apeall to your Lordships justice in equitye to correcte their
boldenesse that bie proces out of that honorable Court of Wardes dare in her Maiestis
name (whose gratius and royall promyse was gyven to protect me) presume to make her
sacred name the trap to opresse me and to bringe me into this infamus prison for a dett bie
me dischardgid and contrarie to an order &c. To compound with Hare is to confound me
and my posteritie forever, for in at that gate of his insatiable extortions I trace many feet
goinge, but few comynge out. His indignyties laid upon me and iniuries so many wais
offred to me ar hevier to any honest mynde then death yt self. Myne only reffuge and
remedie is, that Hew Hare may tast of his owen measures by beinge in this place, which I
dout not to lay open to the worlde that he hath well desarvid, if untrewly gotten
pocessions be of more valew then iniustly gotten goodes, for which men from this place
desarvidlie go to death.

For your honorable and comfortable letter and infynyt other favors I dailie offre the
praier of a prisoner to the Lord for your honors longe lif & endles blessinges in this
world and in the world to com.

From Newgate this xvijth of Januarie 1591.

Your honors most bownden
James Rither.

40. Force and deception.

41. Gold is more persuasive than any words.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As before, I have had more help than I can acknowledge individually. But again I must record the time and trouble which Dr. R. M. Butler has devoted to supplying many of the detailed references and helping me at every stage. In particular the number of detailed references to events subsequent to the death of James Ryther are almost all due to Dr. Butler's researches.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Y.A.J. 56, p. 95, n.3: Sedgwick's two pamphlets on Cowgill Chapel have now been reprinted as *Adam Sedgwick's Dent* (Privately publ., Sedburgh, 1984).

p. 100, l. 1 of main text, read: 'As judgment apted . . . I adventure to present som obsarvauncis. I purpose to touch but to intreat of nothings . . .'

p. 103, n.26, read (line 1): 'in often use'.

p. 103, n.27, add on 'ray' (line 6): Davison Ingledew, following earlier collectors, glosses this as the small Portuguese coin *real*, pl. *reis*. The OED provides a likelier solution *s.v.* *ray sb.* 9: 'a spangle' or little leaf of gold.

p. 104, n.34, read: '[Shi]pton which', i.e. 'witch'.

p. 106, n.45. Mr. J. W. Saunders writes: 'The thought is very common in the 1580s, when peace was criticised in many poems, along these lines . . . My first thought was that it came from one of the numerous Armada poems, but . . . the present tense of *invade* indicates a pre-Armada poem of more general moral drift. The metre is not helpful.'

p. 107, n. 50, add: *see also* Letter X (Y.A.J. 57, p.).

p. 109, n.66, for 'space' (line 4) *read* 'spell'.

p. 109, n.70, for 'forunat' read 'fortunat' (line 3).

p. 110, n.77. The MS has a gap between 'past' and 'promotors': insert 'by' or 'with'. For 'promotors' see p. 117, n.8.

p. 111, n. 84, read: '... wyttnesseth; acceptance at som handes the cause of this; other great... deall with'. (delete '& more').

p. 112, lines 7, 8: 'a proper church without the walls'. The only recorded medieval church in Hartlepool apart from the parish church of St. Hilda appears to be a chapel in the 'Farwell field' dedicated to St. Helen. The site was established by excavation in 1845. Originally built in the time of William Brus (d. 1215), it was founded anew in the eighth year of Bishop Skirlaw's episcopacy (1388-1406). The last incumbent, Richard Bigge, was paid a pension of £4 in 1553. *See* Sharp, Sir C, *History of Hartlepool* (1816, reprinted with Supplement 1851) and Longstaffe, W. H., 'Ruins of the North of England', *Church of England Magazine* 644, 15 May 1847. Ryther's account would appear to be apocryphal. The plan of the harbour in Sharp, 1851 may perhaps be taken to represent what it was in Ryther's day (n. 92 below).

p. 112, line 12, read: '...emptie in effect; so hatefull..'

p. 113, n.99, delete 'is one of' and read 'was father of two of'.

p. 114, n.106. For the identification of *Arola*, see Klinkhardt and Biermann, *Orbis Latinus*, 1972.

p. 116. (4 lines from bottom), read 'or Danett'.

p. 117, n.5., read: 'Letter V, n.86'.

Y.A.J. 57, p.129, n.28: For the treatment of debtors in the Fleet *c.* 1700, see *The Papers of Sir William Chaytor of Croft (1639-1721)*, North Yorks County Record Office, Pubns. 33 (1948), Section 14.

p. 130, n. 29. For Archibald Douglas (active 1565-86) see DNB. It is tempting to speculate on why Ryther's plight interested Douglas but no convincing answer can be offered.

THE MANGIES OF HULL A FAMILY OF PROVINCIAL GOLDSMITHS

By ANN BENNETT

In 1951, as part of the local Festival of Britain celebrations, a magnificent exhibition of Hull silver was organised by Kingston upon Hull Museums, which displayed nearly all the 101 pieces known at that time. Almost a third of the exhibits were the work of Edward Mangie or his wife Katherine, including items of church, civic and domestic plate from important local and national collections.¹

Although Edward and Katherine Mangie became highly successful goldsmiths in Hull, they were not natives of the town but were first recorded there in 1660 when Edward purchased his freedom² and set up his workshop close to Holy Trinity Church.³ The following year he took out a licence to marry Katherine Spalding at St. Martin's, Coney Street in York,⁴ and it seems likely that he was connected with the Mangies who were living in that parish by the early seventeenth century. At least two members of the family had settled there—Christopher, a goldsmith, and Edward, a locksmith some ten years his senior. Christopher's children were baptised from 1617 onwards and seem to have been unusually healthy in that period of high infant mortality.⁵ Two of his sons (George and Henry) became goldsmiths and three of his grandsons (Thomas, George and Arthur) followed in the trade.⁶ The locksmith was less fortunate. His only known son Henry, also a locksmith, died young leaving two small children, a girl born in 1632, and a boy born in 1634.⁷ The old man was concerned about his orphaned grandchildren and in 1639 he made a will carefully providing for their future in which he left the boy, Edward, £4 a year for his education and maintenance and £100 on coming of age.⁸ Edward Mangie of Hull is known to have been born in 1634,⁹ and it is possible, therefore, that he was the son of Henry Mangie, locksmith of York.

In 1659 Edward Mangie was 25 and he must have found his prospects in York bleak. As a young goldsmith he would have had to compete with several long-established family businesses such as the Mangys¹⁰ and the Plummers,¹¹ as well as with the eight new freemen who had been admitted to his craft during the 1650s.¹² In addition to these difficulties, there was a severe decline of local trade in 1660. In that year Sir Thomas Widdrington presented his history of York to the city with a modest dedication. The

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1. J. B. Fay, *Exhibition of Silver made by the Goldsmiths of Kingston upon Hull in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries*, Hull, 1951.
 2. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, BRG/2, Register of Freemen, fo.57.
 3. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, CAT39, Trinity Ward, 1660. All dates given according to the Old-style Calendar.
 4. Edward Mangie of Hull took out the license at the age of 27. J. W. Clay (ed.), *Paver's Marriage Licenses, II*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Record Series*, 43, (1911), p.14.
 5. *The Parish Registers of St. Martin, Coney Street, York, 1557-1812*, Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 36, (1909), pp.20-24.
 6. *Freeman of York II*, Surtees Society, Vol. CII, 1899, pp. 92, 110, 130, 148, 156.
 7. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (BIHR), PR Y/Hel/1.
 8. BIHR, original wills, Edward Maingee, York, August 1639.
 9. See note 4.
 10. The name is spelt in many different ways in York parish registers. Sir Charles Jackson, in *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, London, 1921, pp. 287-9, uses 'Mangy' for York goldsmiths of this name. The Hull family, as far as is known, always used the form 'Mangie'.
 11. *Freemen of York*, pp. 58, 70, 92, 108.
 12. *Freemen of York*, pp. 109-123.

work, he said, was no more than a simple nosegay, and he had only done what the little bee does in gathering honey from various scattered flowers. As the York officials were at that time battling against the relentless silting up of the river Ouse and an ever-increasing number of poor, their reply was understandably blunt: 'Give us leave to tell you that a good purse is more useful to us than a long story . . . by which this tottering and wasted city may be upheld . . . The inhabitants have many of them forsaken it. Leeds is nearer the manufactures and Hull more commodious for the vending of them.'¹³ It is not surprising that Edward Mangie might hope for an opportunity to move to Hull, and the death of Robert Robinson, who had worked as a goldsmith there for many years, seems to have provided this. Robinson's funeral was held on 3 April 1660¹⁴ and nine days later Mangie was in Hull making arrangements to become a freeman.¹⁵

Although the town was a flourishing port with many warehouses, staiths and inns, it had not become overcrowded or squalid. The area near the haven was closely built-up, but there were still orchards, gardens and open spaces within the walls, and some imposing houses owned by wealthy mercantile families.¹⁶ Mangie had been particularly lucky in the timing of his new venture. Many of those who had given up their plate during the Civil War were now anxious to replace it, and the trade of goldsmiths, which had begun to revive during the 1650s, increased considerably after the Restoration in 1660. John Evelyn in describing the magnificent silver at Court, deplored the fact that this taste for luxury was almost universal,¹⁷ and the provincial gentry seem to have copied the fashion as far as they were able. In 1688 Michael Warton of Beverley, near Hull, owned plate worth £2,000, including sets of dishes, knives and forks, candlesticks, tankards, porringers and, most suprising at this early period, a silver teapot and kettle.¹⁸ Mangie obviously had to share the local market with London and York makers but he must have benefited from this expansion of trade and his business thrived.¹⁹ His only competitor in Hull itself was John Watson, who had also become a freeman in 1660.²⁰ Watson was the son and grandson of Hull goldsmiths²¹ but, in spite of this, the local patrons seem to have preferred Mangie's work and no pieces marked by Watson have yet come to light, although he was still described as a goldsmith in 1677.²² Mangie marked his work with his initials and the three crowns for Hull, often stamped twice. Inscriptions on church plate suggest that he was receiving commissions for communion cups during the 1660s, and there seems to have been a steady demand for such pieces throughout his working life. Although of varying proportions, they are almost all in the traditional style of the Elizabethan communion cups, with beaker-shaped bowl (sometimes with a paten cover), spool-shaped stem with a prominent central knop, and stepped foot. The decoration varies from conventional arabesques enclosing foliage to the bands of 'wheat ears' on the Beverley Minster cup, or the more naturalistic, four-petalled flowers on the one he made for Hornsea. The ferry operating across the Humber to Barton extended the market for Hull-made silver into Lincolnshire, and there are communion cups by Edward Mangie at Barton itself as well as the nearby parishes of

13. C. Caine (ed.), *Analecta Eboracensia; some remaynes of the ancient city of York by a citizen of York, Sir Thomas Widdrington*, London, 1897, pp. x-xi.
14. Humberside County Record Office, PE158/3, fo. 336.
15. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, BRG/2, Register of Freemen, fo. 57.
16. K. J. Allison, (ed.), *A History of the County of York East Riding, Vol. I, The City of Kingston upon Hull*, pp. 169, 171.
17. E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford, 1955, Vol. IV, pp. 8-9.
18. Beverley Local History Library, An inventory of the goods of Mr. Michael Warton of Beverley, taken in 1688. Information supplied by Mrs. Elisabeth Hall.
19. PRO, E179/205/505. 1673. Edward Mangie paid tax on five hearths.
20. Kingston upon Hull Record Office, BRG/2, Register of Freemen, fo. 57.
21. Kingston upon Hull Record Office, BRG/2, Register of Freemen, fos. 98, 239.
22. PRO. E179/205/484. 1677. Trinity Ward part I.

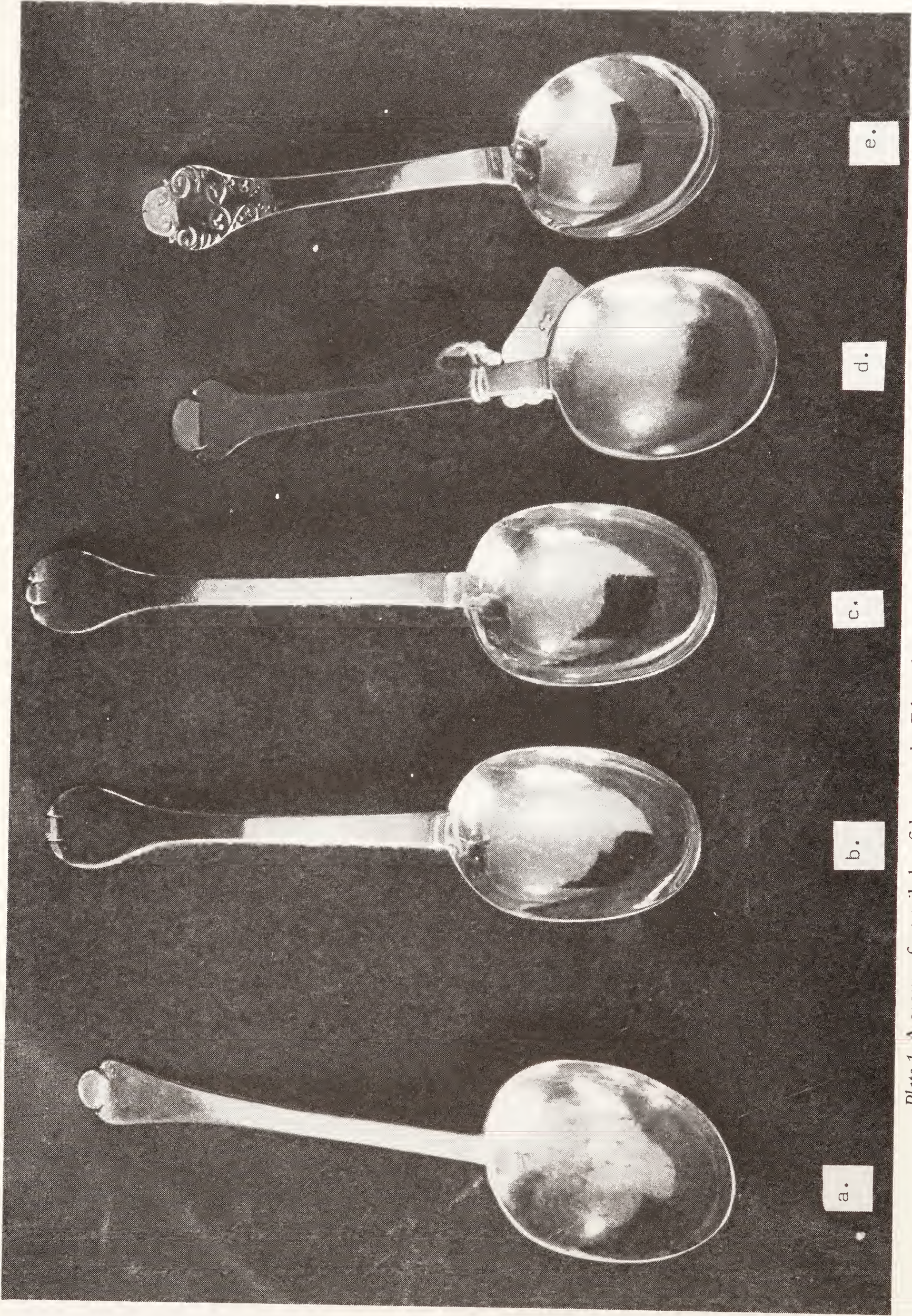


Plate 1. A group of rat-tailed trefid spoons by Edward Mangie (a and b), Katherine Mangie (d) and Thomas Hebden (c and e). By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull Museums.

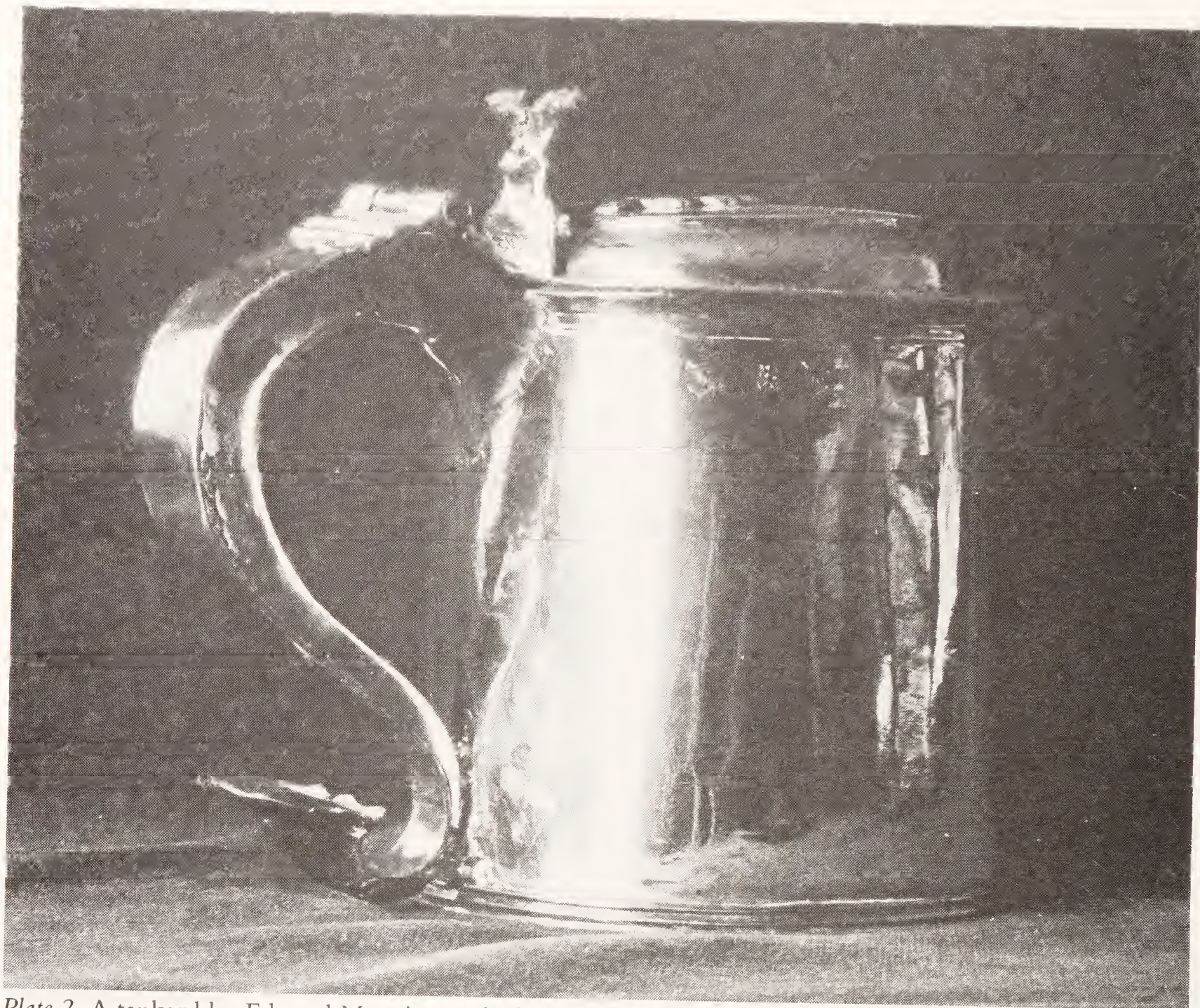


Plate 2. A tankard by Edward Mangie, marked with EM twice and three crowns twice on body and lid. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull Museums.

South Ferriby and Horkstow.

Mangie also produced a range of domestic pieces such as tumbler cups and trefid spoons (Pl. 1), as well as tankards of various sizes (Pl. 2). Among rarer pieces by him which have survived are a single plain dish, a beaker and two coconut cups. Coconut shells were believed to have medicinal properties and had been polished and mounted in silver since the middle ages, but the earliest known Hull example was made by Robert Robinson *c.* 1630, and is now in the collection of Trinity House. Of the two by Mangie, one has a finely carved nut held by tree ribbed straps, standing on a plain domed foot (Pl. 3), while the other has scroll handles and repoussé tulips and roses around the foot. He also used this type of decoration on a number of porringers (Pl. 5), which are of thinnish silver chased with repoussé flowers and leaves. Although Mangie was not very inventive in the design of this work, he was skilled in the technique which he may have learned as an apprentice in York. The style first appeared on English silver towards the end of the Commonwealth period and was very widespread up to *c.* 1670 when it gradually became less fashionable. At least two York makers, George Gibson and Thomas Mangy,²³ used similar embossed ornament, and Hull City Council own a footed salver (which originally had a matching porringer)²⁴ with repoussé flowers, fruit and animals around

23. Tumbler cup by George Gibson, York 1678/9, Yorkshire Museum, York. Tumbler cup (bowl) by Thomas Mangy, York 1677/8, William Lee Collection, York Minster Undercroft.

24. R. A. Alec-Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Corporation Plate and Insignia of the City and County of Kingston upon Hull*, Driffeld, 1973, p.45.



Plate 3. A coconut cup by Edward Mangie, marked with EM and three crowns twice. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull Museums.

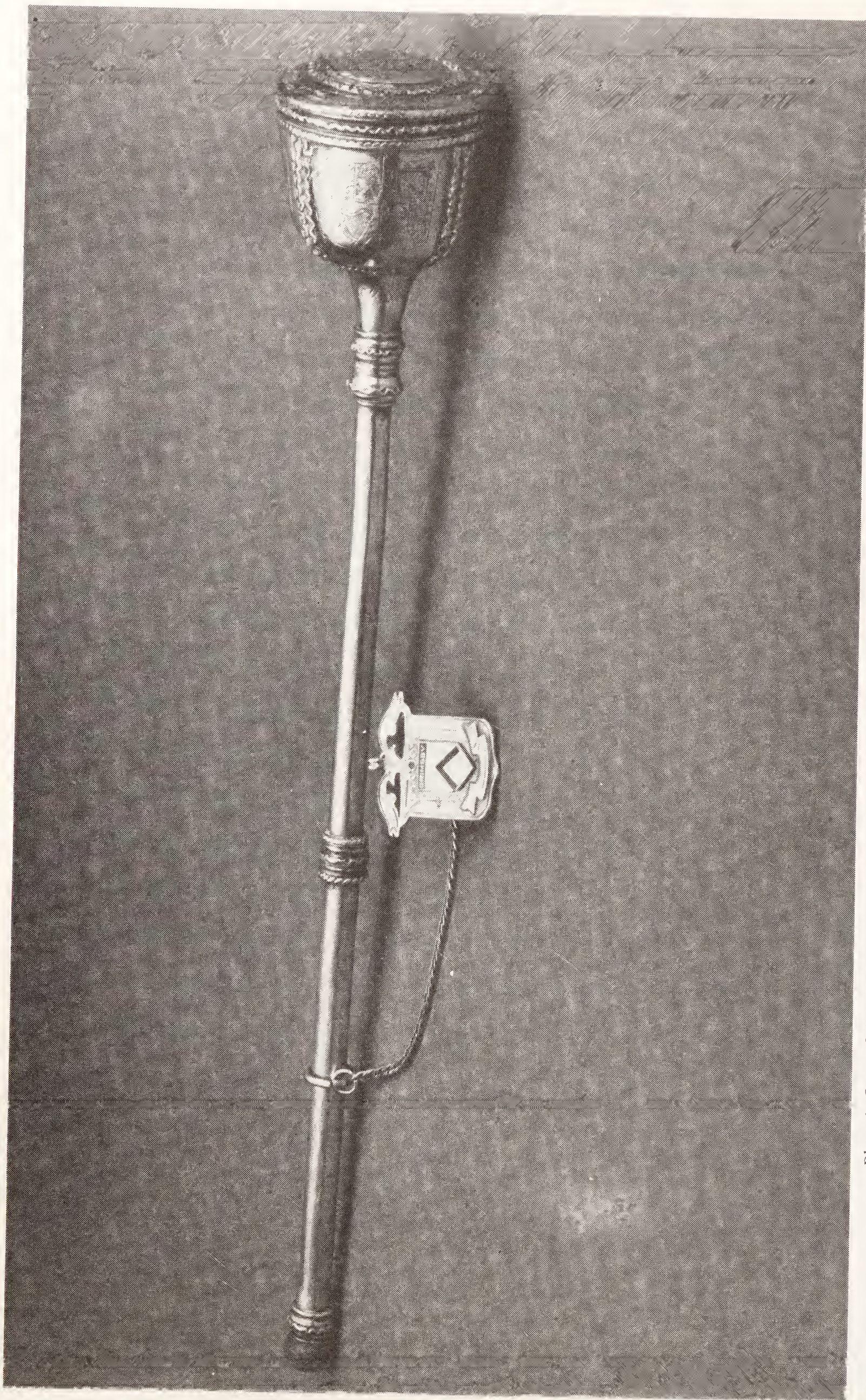


Plate 4. One of the maces of the Borough of Great Grimsby by Edward Mangie, c. 1672, marked with EM, three crowns and a cursive capital A. (A modern coat of arms is attached by a chain). Photograph: The University of Hull Photographic Service. By courtesy of the Borough of Great Grimsby.



Plate 5. A porringer by Edward Mangie, marked with EM and three crowns twice. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull Museums.

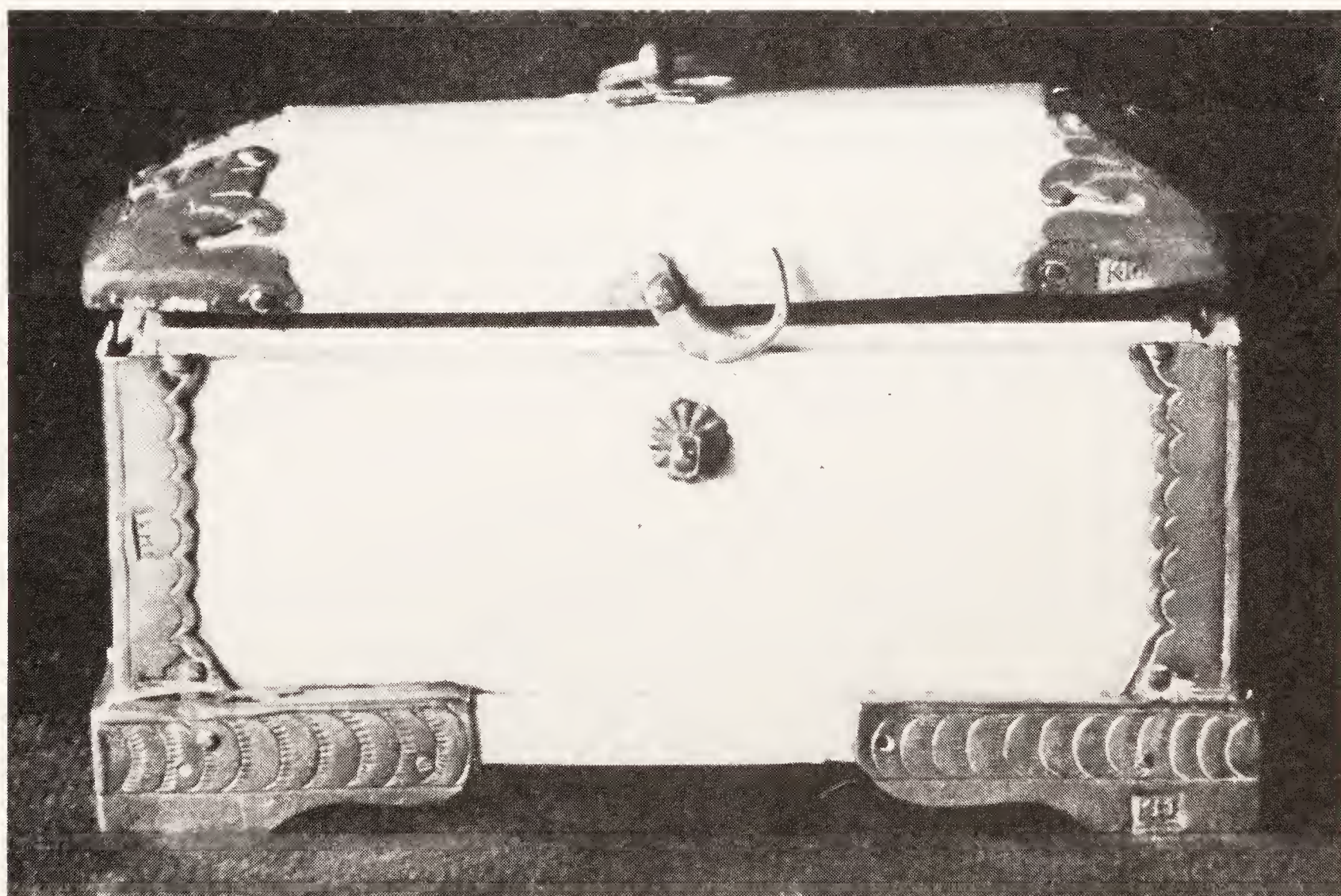


Plate 6. A silver-mounted jewel casket of walrus ivory, the mounts and hinges marked seven times with KM. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull Museums.

the rim, made by Thomas Mangy in 1666/7.

Hull Corporation ordered two maces from Edward Mangie, only one of which, the Sheriff's County Mace, has survived. This is the smaller of the two, measuring 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, and may be a copy of an earlier piece. The shaft is divided into sections by moulded bands and the conical head with incurved sides is topped by a plate engraved with the Stuart arms. He made another for the Corporation of Great Grimsby in 1672 which is a version of their ancient mace,²⁵ and is the same length as the original, 12 in. (Pl. 4). The plain shaft is divided into sections and the hemispherical head is engraved alternately with the arms of the town and of the Stuart sovereigns. The Grimsby mace is stamped with a letter A and is one of several pieces by the Mangies which, in addition to their usual marks, have a cursive capital very like the York date letters used between 1657/8 and 1681/2. A porringer is also marked with an A, another porringer with a B, a tankard and a communion cup with Ds, and several of Katherine's pieces with Es.²⁶ A tankard, which once belonged to the Merchant Tailors' Company of Hull, has EM and three crowns on the body and lid as well as a letter, recorded by Sir Charles Jackson as F.²⁷ The Chester Company of Goldsmiths introduced a series of date letters in 1686/7 which also ran from A to F and which are known to have been punched by their warden after assay,²⁸ but there is no evidence that the Hull letters were put on in this way. The Hull goldsmiths had been part of an amalgamated company, including smiths, pewterers and other trades since 1598,²⁹ and their ordinances, redrafted in 1664, contained certain general precautions against substandard work. New freemen were required to produce a masterpiece for inspection, and fines were laid down for faulty goods, but no special regulations for the assay of plate were included.³⁰ It is not known, therefore, whether the Hull letters had any formal function or even if they were used in specific years. The six letters cannot have been changed annually as the sequence began c. 1672 and was continued by Katherine Mangie, presumably from 1686 onwards after her husband's death.³¹

Edward Mangie worked in Hull for 25 years and, although he never acquired great wealth, he became comfortably prosperous. The Mangies must have hoped for a son to carry on the family trade, and the registers of Holy Trinity show how determined they were that he should be called Edward. During the first ten years of their marriage three of their children were baptised Edward but, sadly, all of them died within their first year. To add to their sorrow, Katherine gave birth to triplets in 1688. There was obviously no hope for any of them and, having been christened James, Robert and John, they were buried together only four days later. A daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1669, followed in 1673 by a fourth Edward and in 1677 by Katherine, the youngest of the Mangies.³² These last three survived their first hazardous year and the epidemics of agues and typhus which raged in Hull during 1680 and 1685, to live on into middle age. However, the goldsmith died himself in 1685 when young Edward was only 12, leaving Katherine to

25. South Humberside Area Record Office, Mayor's Court Book, 1/102/9, p.227.

26. Marked with A: mace, Corporation of Great Grimsby porringer; Kingston upon Hull Museums. Marked with B: porringer, Yorkshire Museum. Marked with D: tankard, Kingston upon Hull Museums; communion cup and cover, Copgrove St. Michael. Marked with E: spoon, Victoria and Albert Museum communion cup and cover, Trinity House, Hull; communion cup and cover, Ulceby, St. Nicholas. A sugar sifter marked with A is also recorded by W. Cripps in his *Old English Plate, Ecclesiastical, Decorative and Domestic*, London, 1878, p.121.

27. Jackson, *op. cit.* in n.10, p. 440.

28. M. H. Ridgway, *Chester Goldsmiths from Early Times to 1726*, Altrincham, 1968, pp. 92, 99.

29. J. Malet Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, Hull, 1891, p.264.

30. Kingston upon Hull Museums, The book of ordinances and orders made amongst the companie of goldsmithes, smithes and other their brethren in Kingston upon Hull 1664. Information supplied by Dr. E. O. Halliwell.

31. Humberside County Record Office, PE158/3, fo. 70.

32. Humberside County Record Office, PE158/3, fos. 181-235.

take over full responsibility for the family and for the business. It was quite common in that period for the widows of craftsmen to continue trading³³ (sometimes until a son could take up his own freedom) and it is sometimes difficult to judge how skilled they were in their husbands' work. It is not known whether either of the Mangies employed a journeyman to help them. A goldsmith called Robert Oxnard was working in Hull in 1687 and, having become ill in that year, he made a will leaving 1s to his brother and sister in full settlement of their expectations, and making the widow Mangie his executrix and main beneficiary. This carefully-worded document gives the impression of a strong determination that Mrs. Mangie's legacy should not be challenged but whether it was on the part of Oxnard or of the widow herself is not certain. He was not a freeman of Hull nor a wealthy man—the value of his estate was about £20³⁴—and he may have been working for Katherine Mangie up to the time of his last illness. Taxation records show that Thomas Hebden, one of Edward's former apprentices, was better off than Mrs. Mangie during the early 1690s,³⁵ and she may have found that trade contracted to a certain extent after her husband's death. At least one of his important patrons remained loyal—Trinity House, the influential guild of master mariners, who bought a plain oval tobacco box and a communion cup made by her. She also supplied cups to Goxhill and to Ulceby in Lincolnshire, which are similar in style to those by Edward Mangie. The Ulceby cup is very like the one he made for Copgrove and is particularly fine. It is marked underneath the foot with KM, and on the body and cover with KM, three crowns twice and the letter E. Hull Museums own a small casket of walrus ivory with its scalloped and leaf-shaped mounts marked seven times with KM (Pl. 6). Hull ships had sailed in far northern waters since the early 17th century, bringing back cargoes of whale oil from Greenland, and perhaps also walrus tusks as souvenirs.

Thomas Hebden died in 1695 aged only 36 and was buried on 6 November.³⁶ The Mangies clearly felt that some opportunity had been provided by his death, and the day after the funeral Edward went to the Guildhall to take up his freedom as a goldsmith by patrimony of his dead father.³⁷ Surviving bills (Pls. 7 and 8)³⁸ show that his mother did not retire after this date but she and her son ran the business as a partnership, although, as far as is known, Edward did not use a mark. This period was one of great difficulty and change for the Mangies. At the end of 1696 Hebden's widow married Abraham Barachin, an immigrant goldsmith, probably a Huguenot refugee.³⁹ He had almost certainly been Hebden's journeyman and, having taken over his premises⁴⁰, soon established himself as a competitor.⁴¹ In addition to this setback, the Mangies must have been affected by the drastic shortage of silver bullion which had led to an unprecedented increase in the melting down and clipping of coins. In spite of many arrests and severe penalties, the highly profitable offence of clipping could not be stamped out, and the poor state of the coinage began to interfere seriously with trade.⁴² In 1696 a Hull diarist noted with astonishment that market traders weighed even the smallest coins on scales

33. Jackson, *op.cit.* in n. 10, pp. 172, 175.

34. BIHR, original wills, Robert Oxnard, Hull May 1687.

35. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, Poor Rate Assessments, 1692-4, Trinity Ward.

36. Humberside County Record Office, PE158/76, fo.61.

37. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, BRG/2, Register of Freemen, fo.176.

38. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, BRF/6 363, 494.

39. Humberside County Record Office, PE158/18, fo.330.

40. Before Hebden's death, Barachin had been living in his house. He subsequently took over as the householder. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, CAT 95/7, 1695-97.

41. Barachin was fined by the Goldsmiths' Company of London in 1698 for selling substandard wares. Court Book 10, fos. 192v, 197r.

42. Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, London, 1913, Vol. V, pp. 2564, 2567.

April 11th 1696 Com^d Major
 For mending a large salt (m^d Whinton
 More — — — — — 50 — 00 — 00
 Oct 14th 1696 For mending a large anchor & — — — 00 — 00 — 00
 Jan 7th 1696 — — — — — 00 — 00 — 00
 Paid of m^d salt. Take the full contents
 of the same
 Edw. Mangier

Plate 7. A bill for repairs to plate belonging to Hull Corporation, receipted by Edward Mangie junior in 1696. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull City Council and Kingston upon Hull Museums.

July 4th 1721 for mending a cup — — — 0 — 3 — 0
 Aug 10th 1721 for mending a pair of snuff — — — 0 — 2 — 0
 Sept 8th 1721 for mending a box — — — 0 — 3 — 6
 Aug 8th 1722 for mending a tank — — — 0 — 3 — 0
 May 4th 1724 for mending an Apple Spoon — — — 0 — 3 — 0
 Jan 26th 1724 for mending a tank — — — 0 — 3 — 0
 Oct 16th 1724 for mending a long Spoon — — — 0 — 3 — 0
 Paid of out. This of Jan 1725
 Kath. Mangier

Plate 8. A bill for repairs to Hull Corporation plate, receipted in 1724 by Katherine, the youngest of the Mangie children, on behalf of her mother. By courtesy of Kingston upon Hull City Council and Kingston upon Hull Museums.

before accepting them,⁴³ and in that year the situation had become so alarming throughout the country that the government was forced to embark on a complete recoinage.⁴⁴ To protect the new coins from being melted down for plate it was enacted that, from March 1697, the amount of fine silver in each pound (troy) should be raised by eight penny weights and that this higher standard should be indicated by a new set of marks.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, no specific reference was made to marking in the provinces, and a period of great uncertainty followed. These problems may have affected Katherine's health and towards the end of 1697 she became ill. Believing herself to be dying and 'weak and sick in body' she made her will which she signed with a shaking hand. In fact, she recovered and the will was not proved until 1725 when she eventually died at the age of 88.⁴⁶

The Act introducing the higher standard had caused some provincial goldsmiths 'great difficulties and hardships in the exercise of their trade', and after petitions from makers in Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and subsequently Newcastle,⁴⁷ the Acts of 1700/1⁴⁸ and 1701/2⁴⁹ established assay offices in six towns, including York but excluding Hull. The law now required Hull goldsmiths to send their work to one of the official centres to be assayed but, in spite of this, Barachin went on marking silver in the old way. This does not seem to have deterred even his most respectable customers from ordering new plate, and he provided a wait's chain for Hull Corporation in 1713, and communion cups for several local churches at about the same time.⁵⁰ The Mangies also remained in business but very few pieces made by them after 1697 are known, and they appear to have traded mainly as retailers and repairers from then onwards. They were by no means reduced to poverty by competition from Barachin although they may well have shared the hostility of the London goldsmiths towards Huguenot immigrants.⁵¹ It must have been a source of satisfaction to Katherine that after Barachin's death in 1721, when she herself was well over 80, the Corporation again sent plate to the Mangies to be repaired.⁵² She had obviously been a strong and resourceful woman, but her son is a much more shadowy figure. The only piece of any importance that could be attributed to him is the Merchant Tailors' tankard, which is marked on the body and lid with three crowns, EM and possibly a letter F,⁵³ although this is now worn and difficult to read. However, the tankard is similar in style to the work of his father and has a maker's mark which was certainly used by him.⁵⁴ The piece could have been made by either of them, and the books of the Merchant Tailors' Company which might have settled the question, have now been lost. Edward became ill in 1734 and was nursed with 'extraordinary care and tenderness' by his younger sister until his death in 1739.⁵⁵ There is no evidence that the three Mangie children ever married and, after two generations in Hull, the family died out.

43. *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, Surtees Society, Vol. LIV, 1869, p.97.

44. 8 William III, CI (1696) 'An Act for Remedying the Ill State of the Coinage of the Kingdom'.

45. 8 William III, C8 (1696) 'An Act for Encouraging the Bringing in Wrought Plate to be Coined'.

46. BIHR, original wills, Catherine Mangie, Hull, August 1725.

47. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 8 Jan, 25 Jan 1699/1700, 24 Feb, 12 Mar 1700/1, 9 Feb 1701/2.

48. 12/13 William III C.4 (1700/1) 'An Act for Appointing Wardens and Assay Masters for Assaying wrought Plate in the Cities of York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester and Norwich'.

49. 1 Anne Stat, 1, C.9, 3-5 'An Act for continuing the Act made in the eighth year of his late Majesty's Reign, for better preventing the Counterfeiting the Current Coin of this Kingdom'.

50. Alec-Smith, *op.cit.* in n.24, p.113. Whitgift, St. Mary Magdalene. Thorngumbald, St. Mary.

51. BIHR, original wills, Abraham Barachin, Hull, May 1721; Edward Mangie, Hull, June 1739. Barachin's estate was valued at £1,000 and Mangie's at £400.

52. Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, BRF/6 494.

53. See note 27.

54. A tankard on display in Kingston upon Hull Museums, inscribed 'The Gift of Mr. Phillip Winspeare . . .' has the same maker's mark and a letter D.

55. BIHR, original wills, Edward Mangie, Hull, June 1739.

Three hundred years after the death of Edward Mangie senior and of Katherine's decision to use her own mark, a number of their communion cups are still regularly used in local churches. Many other pieces by them have been brought back to the town and can be seen in the fine collection of the Wilberforce House Museum in High Street.⁵⁶ On the rare occasions when their work is offered for sale, it fetches prices which they would have found impossible to believe.

56. J. B. Fay, *op. cit.*

APPENDIX

*Pieces by Edward Mangie**Civic Plate*

1. Sheriff's County Mace, 16¼" long, surmounted by a plate engraved with the arms of the Stuart sovereigns.
2. Mace, 12" long, the head engraved alternately with the arms of Grimsby and of the Stuart sovereigns.

Church Plate

3. Communion cup and cover, the cup engraved with the inscription 'The gift of Ann the daughter of Robert Cartwright Alderman of this Towne of Beuerley & now wife of: Aldmn. Richard Wilson late Major of Kingston upon Hull unto the Parish of St. Johns of Beuerley 1666', 9¾" high.
4. Communion cup and cover, the cover inscribed with the date '1668', 6¾" high.
5. Communion cup and cover, engraved with the inscription 'The Gift of Tristram Suger the servant of Jesus Christ anno 1674', 7¼" high.
6. Communion cup, engraved with the inscription 'Ex dono ffra: Wright 1676,' 7⅜" high.
7. Communion cup, engraved with the inscription 'The Gift of Mr Robt. Carlill Marcer in Hull to the Parish Church of Elloughton: Mr. John Lambert Minister 1678,' 5⅞" high.
8. Communion cup and cover, the cup engraved with the inscription 'This is my Blood of the New Testament, Matt: 26,28.', and the cover with 'Drink ye all of it. Matt: 26,27.', 6" high.
9. Communion cup, engraved with the inscription 'This belongs to the Church of Hornsea', 6¾" high.
10. Paten, engraved with the inscription 'The gift of Mr. John Person Twice Warden of this House', 12½" diameter.
11. Communion cup and cover, the cup engraved with the inscription 'This belongs to the Parishe of South fferibie', 6" high.
12. Communion cup and cover, the cup engraved with the initials 'G¹A', 6½" high.
13. Communion cup and cover, the cup engraved with the inscription 'Barton St Peters Thomas Willson curet Georg ffry Will Reynold churchwardens', 6¼" high.

Domestic Plate

14. Tankard, the handle engraved with 'H' in script, 5" high.
15. Tankard, the body engraved with the arms of Fairfax impaling Barwick, and underneath with the initials 'MW WW' and 'WW' repeated, 5" high.
16. Tankard, the body engraved with a coat of arms and the inscription 'The Gift of Mr. Phillip Winspeare to Palgrave Winspeare his Grand childe 1691', 7½" high.
17. Porringer, engraved within the repoussé decoration with the arms of Yorke of York, and above with the inscription 'Mors tua Mors Christi fraus Mundi gloria Caeli et dolor Inferni sunt meditanda tibi', 3¾" high.
18. Porringer, engraved on the rim with the initials 'T^CD', 3¼" high.
19. Porringer, engraved on the rim with the initials 'L^WE' and the letter 'H' in script, 2½" high.
20. Porringer, engraved with a coat of arms within crossed plumes, 4" high.
21. Caudle cup and cover engraved with the inscription 'The guift of a friend and Bro: of the house John Blenkarne', 4" high.
22. Coconut cup, the nut with three carved panels, one with the arms of Alman, Surrey, 7½" high.

Kingston upon Hull City Council.

Great Grimsby Borough Council.

Beverley Minster.

Marfleet, St. Giles.

Barnoldby le Beck, St. Helena.

Kirk Ella, St. Andrew.

Elloughton, St. Mary Virgin.

Copgrove, St. Michael.

Hornsea, St. Nicholas.

Hull Trinity House.

South Ferriby, St. Nicholas.

Horkstow, St. Maurice.

Barton, St. Peter.

Kingston upon Hull Museums.

In a private collection.

From a private collection, on display
in Kingston upon Hull Museums
(Wilberforce House).

Kingston upon Hull Museums.

Kingston upon Hull Museums.

Yorkshire Museum, York.

Kingston upon Hull Museums.

Hull Trinity House.

Kingston upon Hull Museums.

23. Coconut cup, engraved on the rim with the initials 'IB', 5¼" high.
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.
 24. Beaker, engraved with the inscription 'The Gift of Mr. John Ellicar to the Trinity House in Hull' and with the initials 'IE EM', 3⅛" high.
Hull Trinity House.
 25. Dish, perfectly plain, 9" diameter.
In a private collection.
 26. Tumbler cup, the base engraved with the initials 'BMD', 2¾" diameter.
Sold at Sotheby's 7th March 1968.
 27. Sugar sifter, engraved with the arms of Frodingham (see note 26).
Formerly in the Bohn Collection.
 28. Trefid spoon with rat tail bowl, the terminal reverse engraved with a lion *couchant*, 7⅝" long.
In a private collection.
 29. Trefid spoon, the bowl back engraved with the initials 'V_HM', 7⅜" long.
In a private collection.
 30. Trefid spoon, the terminal reverse engraved with the initials 'I^LL', 7¾" long.
Kingston upon Hull Museums.
 31. Trefid spoon, rat tail bowl, the bowl back engraved with the initials 'AD', 7¼" long.
Kingston upon Hull Museums.
 32. Trefid spoon, the terminal reverse engraved with the initials 'I^LL', 7¾" long.
Kingston upon Hull Museums.
 33. Trefid spoon, rat tail bowl, the terminal reverse engraved with the initials 'ADM IM'.
Sold at Sotheby's, 9th February 1984.
- Attributed to Edward Mangie senior,
but possibly the work of his son.*
34. Tankard, the body engraved with the arms of the Merchant Tailors of Hull and the motto 'Concordia parvae res Crescunt', and 'Ebenez. Robson. Warden'. The piece is also inscribed around the rim 'This interesting Relic of the Ancient Guild of Merchant Tailors of Hull, was presented by George Hall Esqr an Elder Brother of this Corporation 1860'. 7" high.
Hull Trinity House.
- Katherine Mangie
Church Plate*
1. Communion cup, engraved with the inscription 'Robert. Webser. and. Thomas. Smith. Church. Wardens 1.6.9.4.' 6¾" high.
Goxhill, All Saints.
 2. Communion cup and paten, the cup engraved with the inscription 'Robert Palmur and John Mitchinson Church Wardens 1695', 6¼" high.
Skeffling, St. Helen.
 3. Communion cup and cover, 7½" high.
Hull Trinity House.
 4. Communion cup, engraved with the inscription 'Nicholas Bridges & Thomas Tayler Church Wardens 1699', 6¾" high.
Goxhill, All Saints.
 5. Communion cup and cover, 7¼" high.
Ulceby, St. Nicholas.
- Domestic Plate*
6. Tobacco box, the lid engraved with the inscription 'Domus Trinitatis in Hull 1697'. 4½" x 3½".
Hull Trinity House.
 7. Jewel casket of walrus ivory, the mounts marked seven times. 3¾" x 2⅛" x 2⅛".
Kingston upon Hull Museums.
 8. Trefid spoon with rat tail bowl, the terminal reverse engraved with the initials 'GR to HT'. 7⅛" long.
The Victoria and Albert Museum.
 9. Trefid spoon with rat tail bowl, engraved with the initials 'MI'.
In a private collection.
 10. Pair of trefid spoons with rat tail bowls, the terminal reverses engraved with the initials 'MB to TTA', 8" long.
Kingston upon Hull Museums.
 11. Pair of trefid spoons with rat tail bowls, engraved with a lion *passant*.
In a private collection.
- Attributed to Katherine Mangie*
12. A bleeding bowl, made in Hull, the handle engraved with the initials 'ES', 4" diamter.
Sold at Sotheby's, 11th April 1968.

WILLS AND INVENTORIES IN THE BEDALE AREA OF NORTH YORKSHIRE

By K. M. BUMSTEAD

The Bedale W.E.A. Tutorial class of 1973-75 studied copies of 229 Wills and Inventories for the Bedale area of North Yorkshire. Eventually 15 of these were discarded as having insufficient evidence of location or date, being too difficult to decipher or, in the case of Henry Peirse, 1760, because it dealt only with his town house 'on the south side of Southampton Row, St. Paul's, Covent Garden.' Finally 214 Inventories and 28 Wills were studied, dating from 1539-1720. The work could not be completed at the time, and a short course was held in 1978 to consider the social background of the documents and to finish transcribing and analysing them.

The original intention was to study the material for Bedale and Aiskew, but later some of the nearby villages were included since the townships were always closely connected with the villages and some students had local interests. Copies of the documents were obtained by the Tutor, Mr. B. Harrison M.A. from the Leeds Archives Department.¹ The collection is extensive but does not include all the relevant documents since some could not be copied or needed repair; and in the case of the villages only the first half of the Index (A—J) was used in some cases.

Those studied were as follows:—

<i>Place</i>	<i>Inventories</i>	<i>Wills</i>
Bedale	70	17
Aiskew	30	6
Firby	8	2
Crakehall	10	—
Snape	23	1
Well	20	—
Leeming	4	1
Exelby	15	—
Theakston	13	—
Burneston	12	—
Holtby	2	—
Burrill	4	1
Thornton Watlass	3	—
	—	—
	214	28

As may be seen, only a small proportion of the Inventories were accompanied by Wills, and these were, with one exception, for the earlier period. The latest dates for Wills were:—

Burrill 1576; Leeming 1583; Aiskew 1587; Snape 1613; Bedale 1616; Firby 1670.

No inventories were available for almost half of the years involved (84 out of 181); and there were four runs of years with no inventories:—

1543-52, 1590-95, 1640-59, 1707-16.

There were also periods when the documents were unusually prolific:—

1556-1559 (10 in 4 years, average 2.5 per year)

1661-1700 (122 in 40 years, average 3.05 per year)

Since the total numbers were not large, and the distribution in no way methodical, it

1. Box of Richmond Wills etc., mainly with references RD/API.

was not thought worth while to subdivide the documents rigorously; but at times comparisons were made between the three areas of Bedale, Aiskew and the Villages; and dates were noted when making comparisons.

Interest was chiefly centred on the following aspects:—

- i) Wealth and the economic structure of society.
- ii) The size of houses, and their contents.
- iii) Crafts practised both for self-sufficiency and as a way of earning a livelihood.
- iv) Farming practices.

Wealth

With a collection of inventories preserved and provided by chance, it was useless to compare the numbers of rich and poor rigorously, but worth while to do so as some indication of the social structure. It transpired that the bulk of the inventories related to people worth less than £50. There were a considerable number of well-to-do, worth between £50 and £200; and a few outstandingly rich people worth more than £200.

	<i>Bedale</i>	<i>Aiskew</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Total</i>
Under £50	52	16	81	149
£50—£200	15	11	23	49
Over £200	3	3	10	16
	70	30	114	214

The broad base of the 'lower orders' becomes even more apparent when closer investigation reveals that there are 37 inventories where the deceased was worth less than £10, and a further 40 worth less than £20, giving 77, or almost a third of the inventories to people worth less than £20. The very poor and paupers would leave no Will and therefore have no inventory, further enlarging the lower categories.²

It is surprising to find at what a low level of possessions a man or woman would make a Will. In 1567 William Patteson, a labourer of Bedale, 'sick in body but whole in mind and memory', left 4 pieces of pewter, a brass pan and a final estate worth £1.10.7. In 1602 Jane Jackson, widow, had her bed and bedding, a cupboard and 3 chests, a £1's worth of brass and pewter vessels, 2 kine, £2 of hay and corn for their feed, a cock and some hens; the total worth £4.15.4. In 1623 Robert Garr left an estate of £1.10 with household goods worth 10s., consisting of one old bedstead, one coverlet, one old happin (wrapping), 1 pair of sheets, 1 chest and 2 pans. Probably he worked for wages all his life for he had no other apparent means of subsistence.

At the other end of the scale, the rich were worth anything from £207.3.2. (Christopher Nelson, farmer, Bedale 1663) to £701.15.8. (Robert Bindlowes, yeoman, Aiskew 1681). A list of such people shows that the gentry and farmers (some known as yeomen, some not) predominated; but that trade was also a possible source of wealth.

Valuations over £200.³

1558	William Parkynson, farmer, Burneston	£371.0.9
1612	Henry Simpson, farmer, Firby	£259.10.2
1613	William Jackson Junr., farmer, Crakehall	£207.3.2
1639	John Mudd, yeoman, Aiskew	£220.7.5
1663	Christopher Nelson, farmer/butcher, Bedale	£583.10.2

2. This wealth and poverty is by local standards. Henry Peirse held bonds in South Seas and other stock in the eighteenth century worth thousands of pounds.

3. Only one of these accounts dates from the sixteenth century, and this perhaps reflects inflation in the later period, since John Tennant, yeoman of Bedale 1558 (valuation £151.18.7) and Lucas Lewge, merchant of Bedale 1569 (valuation £94.11.2) seem by their possessions to qualify with the rich of a later period. See P. Bowden, Statistical Appendix in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales IV* (Cambridge 1967), pp. 814-70.

1668	Henry Harrison Esquire, Holtby	£408.11.8
1670	Timothy Hunton, farmer, Exelby	£607.18.8
1675	George Crone, husbandman, Snape	£263.16.4
1675	Michael Walker, grocer, Bedale	£480.15.8
1677	John Cuthbert, farmer, Burneston	£386.13.0
1680	Christopher Atkinson, yeoman, Thornton Watlass	£218.0.0
1681	Marmaduke Danby, gentleman(?) Aiskew	£485.12.3
1681	Robert Binlowes, yeoman, Aiskew	£701.15.8
1694	William Gatenby, tanner(?) Snape	£617.10.0
1694	Christopher Haw, Snape Castle, Snape	£680.2.10
1706	Dorothy Raper, Bedale, private means(?)	£485.15.8

Of these 16 wealthy people, 3 were declared as 'yeomen' in the inventories, and 1 as 'husbandman'; 6 more were certainly farmers, judging by the value of the farming stock they held. One, Henry Harrison Esquire, was a gentleman. Christopher Haw, living in Snape Castle, was agent for the Earl of Exeter⁴. Michael Walker was stated to be a grocer, and William Gatenby must surely have been a tanner, owning '£150 of leather wet and dry and the bark belonging'. Marmaduke Danby and Dorothy Raper had neither farming nor other stock to account for their handsome 'purse and apparel', and their wealth is due to financial transactions—Danby's 'long lease in Aiskew' worth £400; and Dorothy Raper's 'debts owing to the deceased £474'.

Most of the valuations are not as straightforward as an arrangement of the final totals makes them seem. Over two-thirds of the accounts mention credits, debts, bonds or leases, and these are often extensive enough to alter the whole financial picture. William Wilkinson, inn-holder in Bedale in 1702, had extensive household possessions worth nearly £90 and a lease raised his estate to £231; but his debt of £266.0.6. left him ultimately worth only £5.5.6. on balance. Such accounts can make a nonsense of putting people rigidly into income brackets based on the final value of their estate, and many inventories need to be studied in detail to get the true picture.

Credits, debts, leases and bonds apply to all classes. The poor owe a little and are owed. John Thompson of Bedale died in 1554 owing 8s 11d; and in turn was owed by William Bell 10s. and a 'whyte stirk'⁵. John Foster of Bedale, 1675, was owed 10s each by Christopher and Thomas Morrice, and himself owed Widow Eden of Firby £7, Sibyl Pearson of Bedale £4, Alice Wray £3 and George Pearson 6s 8d. Such transactions abound, and may have been due to a currency shortage, or to the unwillingness of country people to deal in hard cash before it was unavoidable.

Most tradesmen have credits and debts, generally of a reasonable amount and understandable as payment for raw materials and stock on the one hand and the credit accounts of customers on the other. Generally they roughly balance, and since a methodical and solvent merchant like Lucas Lewge (Bedale 1569) has credits of £31.7.7. and debts of £55.13.4. one can assume that it was respectable business practice. Such accounts were kept methodically, as Richard King, cordwainer (Bedale 1718) shows when his 'debts due to the deceased' are assessed 'as appeared by his Book'. Some tradesmen, a minority had no credits and no debts. These are generally in a small way of business, such as Jacob Steele, grocer in Bedale 1684 and worth £38.17.0.

In 1675 Michael Walker, also a grocer in Bedale, had credits of £528.17.10 and owed £202.4.3., ending worth £408.15.8. Farmers and yeomen present the same picture, some having few or no debts or credits, others a considerable amount. Here leases become important. These may be the amassing of small parcels of land to build up a farm or perhaps as an investment. Leonard Hunter of Well (1668) held a farm worth £31, and had

4. E. Horsfall, *Notes on the History of Snape and Well* (1912).

5. A whye is a heifer, a stirk is a young bullock or heifer one to two years old, and a whye stirk is a heifer between one and two years old.

a lease in Well worth 13/4, a lease in Snape worth 6/8 and one in Tanfield worth 10/0. George Fothergill of 'the street bit', Exelby (1661) held leasing in Aiskew (£50) and in Grewelthorpe (£20). There are 10 miles between the two places and both are remote from Exelby. We do not usually know the details of leases from the inventories, but John Cuthbert, a farmer from Burneston (1677) held a lease of £220 'holden under Mr. Waistell of Bolton-upon-Swale'.³ William Wilkinson, the Bedale inn-holder, held a lease for £120 from the Right Hon. Sir Miles Stapleton. Even more exalted landowners were involved in local leases, the Earl of Aylesbury and the Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Exeter. A local source of leases was the Master and Brethren and Sisters of the 'hospetall of saynt Michells in Well'. Too few leases give details of the lessor for this to be pursued.

There are also bonds. Some small ones seem a security for widows or old age. Jane Beareparke of Bedale (1623) had 'one bond worth £4'. Her total estate was worth £7.6.8. Katherine Webster a widow of Bedale (1681) had £10 in 'credit of bonds'. Her final estate was valued at £7.17.8. Elizabeth Hunter of Well (1679) owned almost nothing, had a household worth £1.15.2. and money and clothing worth £1, but she had £24 worth of 'bonds in hand', one for £6, two for £4 and one for £10.

Some dealings are on a larger scale. John Fosse of Well (1669) had credits of £101.11.4. mostly by bond. The most complicated entry is for Timothy Hunton of Exelby (1670), with a moderate household, a valuable farm worth £204.17., a lot of ready money and rich clothing worth an unprecedented £60 and £352.12.8 in credits, £318.8.2. 'with speciality' and £34.4.6. 'without speciality'. 'Desperate debts' are sometimes differentiated. This language and the talk of bonds, suddenly reminds one that this was the age of Shakespeare and the Merchant of Venice.

The picture which seems to emerge is of a few very wealthy people, a considerable number of 'comfortable' households, but a great majority of humble if not poor dwellings, even among those able to make a Will. Most people are occupied with, and most wealth arises from the land, but there is a significant proportion of craftsmen and shop-keepers, some of whom are wealthy. Status does not absolutely depend on wealth, in that farmers are richer than gentry sometimes; and a man can write himself down as 'yeoman' when worth only £17, and that without credits or debts. But the poor are the poor and there is no mistaking them; sometimes they are called labourer, often they have almost no money, and one must notice their minimum of possessions, albeit carefully left in the care of friends for their dependants. William Patteson, labourer, Bedale (1567) died worth £1.10.7. leaving his few goods to his wife's daughter by a previous marriage and to his own daughter, with his friends William Greenwood and George Lodge to look after them until the girls are of age.

The pattern of credit and debt, leases and bonds, suggests lively local economic activity.

Houses

The proportion of inventories detailing the contents of a house room by room increases markedly through the two centuries, from 1:8 in the 16th century to 1:3 and then 1:2 in the 17th century and is universal practice in the 18th century.

Houses of 2-6 rooms predominate, with a marked incidence of 3-roomed houses in the villages:— a forehouse and 2 parlours, or a forehouse, parlour and chamber. Only 4 one-roomed houses are mentioned. At the other end of the scale there is a scattering of large houses with 9-16 rooms, with one of 21 rooms. In the villages and Aiskew the inventories of large houses all date from the 17th and 18th centuries, but there are two early ones in Bedale: John Tennant, yeoman 1558 (11 rooms); Lucas Lewge, shop-keeper 1569 (9 rooms).

It might be expected that the 16 richest people previously mentioned would own the

largest houses. To some extent this is true. The most prestigious house is the gentleman's residence of Henry Harrison Esquire of Holtby (1668). It seems to be an old house lately improved, with 'a hall, passage in the old hall, old kitchen' etc. The new building includes a new kitchen with a new chamber over it, and another 'new chamber'. Was a new wing built? Altogether there were 21 rooms, but it is not size alone which differentiates it. There are specialised rooms—a nursery, closet and study. There are quarters for servants, rarely found elsewhere. One room is a large dining-room, one a small dining-room. There is a room known as the 'red chamber' that seems elaborately decorated.

Christopher Nelson, farmer/butcher of Bedale (1663) most nearly approaches this grand house, but falls well below it. He, too, has new building—a new parlour and a new chamber; and special rooms for the servants. But although the house has 10 rooms not counting the milk house and outbuildings, there is no mention of special use for the activities attached to a gentleman's establishment.

Christopher Haw at Snape has 11 rooms, but apart from 'the parlour in the south tower' his resembles a yeoman's rather than a gentleman's house; and as agent he probably lived in only part of the Castle. Timothy Hutton, Robert Binlowes, Michael Walker and George Crone have 8-roomed houses of much the same type; with a hall, forehouse or firehouse, an assortment of chambers and parlours, and useful working rooms such as a milk house, boulding house or shop. The inventories of the remaining 9 richest households either do not specify rooms or do not do so in detail.

Wealth alone does not regulate the type of house to be found. Mary Carter of Burneston (1689) left an estate worth only £47.8.10. consisting of money in her purse and her clothes, and her household effects. She has no discernable source of income. She lived in a 12-roomed house of a more modern type than Henry Harrison's, with a 'forehouse'; and she, too, had special rooms such as a 'study chamber', 'Mary's parlour', Nicholas' chamber and a kitchen. She would seem to belong with the gentry, although not as rich as many farmers. There are others of a similar sort.

In Bedale, 'garretts' and cellars appeared in the 17th century, especially in the houses of tradesmen:⁶

1671 Matthew Cowed, shoemaker, cellar.

1674 George Cooke, grocer, cellar and garret.

1675 Michael Walker, grocer, garret.

1698 Edward Thomson, saddler, cellar and 2 garrets.

1698 Grace Lambe, shop, cellar.

1702 William Wilkinson, inn-holder, 2 cellars and garret-chamber.

Some of the large houses in the villages had cellars, used for storage it would seem—sometimes for hogsheads of wine.

More shops and crafts are mentioned in Bedale than in any other area, and this influences the shape of the houses. The shop is always part of the house with 'chambers over'. There is a high proportion of substantial houses with 6 or more rooms in Bedale.

Robert Binlowes, the rich yeoman, lived in the only 8-roomed house in Aiskew. Other houses there were smaller, with a high proportion of working rooms such as a 'dye-house', 'work-house' etc.

As regards the naming and arrangement of rooms, it is noticeable that the 'hall' or 'hall-house' seems to belong to the older property, and in the 17th century is replaced by the 'forehouse'—or, very occasionally, 'firehouse'—as the chief living area of the house, and present in every building. In the smaller houses cooking took place there, but the larger houses have a kitchen. As well there are a variety of 'chambers' and 'parlours'. The

6. Several of these are mentioned in the Hearth Tax Returns for 1674: George Cooke and Michael Walker had three hearths, Matthew Cowed and William Wilkinson four, and Grace Lambe five.

word 'parlour' is often used on its own, but as well there is the 'back parlour', 'little parlour', 'great parlour', 'inner parlour', 'parlour next the forehouse', 'low parlour', and 'high parlour'. There is an even greater variety of chambers—green, red, study, lodging, high, cross, outer, out, lower, over-the-entry, little, over-low-parlour, new, great, over-shop, over-kilne, and over-the-whole-house.

The buttery is common in larger houses, especially those of yeomen, farmers and husbandmen; as are the dairy, brewhouse, boulting house, kilne and other work rooms. Coal houses are rarely mentioned though 'coals' often are.

The inventories are particularly useful when they describe a particular type of establishment in detail. Thus they give a vivid picture of a large inn at Bedale in 1702 occupied by William Wilkinson.

This was a tall house with 2 cellars and a garret chamber, 16 rooms in all. Most of these were numbered 'chambers':—7, 11, 13, 14, 9, 20 and 21, are mentioned. The hall, with a range, tables, forms and chairs seems the centre of the house. There is also the Great Kitchen, and 'a room over the great kitchen', which presumably were the principal rooms after the hall. Both parlours and chambers are equipped with bedding and chairs and tables as a rule, though two have only bedding, being too small for more perhaps. One, No. 14 has 17 chairs, a table and a looking glass, and was perhaps used for meetings or functions. One cellar is for storage, one for hogsheads, tubs etc. There is a brewhouse, so it looks as if true 'home-brewed' was served; a barn and a kiln.

The furnishing is impressive. There are looking glasses in four of the rooms, a warming pan and 2 silver spoons. These are unusual and luxury articles. The real richness lies in the number of feather beds and the weight of pewter—7 stone weight of pewter dishes in the great kitchen, as well as '3 dozen pewter plates' elsewhere, 'with other pewter'. There are 3 dozen trenchers, brass candlesticks, 2 copper cans, 2 brass mortars, £7.10s. worth of linen sheets, tablecloths and napkins, and a panel chest. It seems to have been a place of warmth, comfort, good food and good drink.

As regards the Bedale tradesmen, some seem to fall on hard times. Charles Kipling, fellmonger (1694) showed traces of better things with a silver tumbler, some pewter, a panel chest, press and cupboard, 2 standing beds and 2 servants' beds. But in the end his kitchen had only one pot and one pan and iron fire-implements, a 'scabbed galloway' pulled his cart and he was insolvent.⁷

Edward Thomson the saddler (1698) however showed how well a tradesman could do. Apart from the size of his house—10 rooms not counting the brewhouse, milkhouse, barn and shop—he had the equipment to do his own brewing, to make cheese and butter and to spin his own yarn. He had 7 quarters of coal and luxury articles such as 2 looking-glasses, 5 pewter chamber-pots, a warming pan and 2 silver tumblers. He had 17 pewter dishes, 18 plates, 14 tankards, 2 great flagons, 5 pewter candlesticks as well as 3 brass ones and 2 iron; salt cellars and mustard pots. Moreover, very unusual, he had 17 books. There were curtains at the windows (window-cloths), and a pair of bellows. His household goods were worth £43.12.6. He was a man of some standing in the community.

George Cooke (1674) was a grocer, living in a large house of about eight rooms, with a second house at Church Stile. His household was worth nearly £30. What is particularly interesting is the account of goods in the shop:— 'Goods, wares and merchandise.. with a scoop, chest, weights, measures, scales and brass mortar (£30.19.7). Michael Walker, grocer (1675) had stocks of iron and dripping pans and a frying pan; flax and hemp, pitch, tar, rossin, tobacco, sugar, raisins, currants, hops, soap, strong water and vinegar 'in the shop and warehouse', all worth more than £46.

7. Rudyard Kipling's family came from this part of Yorkshire and so there might possibly be a connection here.

The general pattern of furnishing for the period is well known from many studies of inventories and so does not merit long description.⁸ What these inventories do show though is the class difference which is shown not by wealth but by the type of possessions. The gentry, stated to be such, or detected by their type of income and the arrangement of their rooms, have a considerable amount of silver in use. They have wine in their cellars, glasses to drink from, a desk, a clock etc. Farmers, yeomen and shopkeepers have a touch of silver—4 spoons, a little tumbler—but no real collection. Both classes have extensive pewter for everyday use, but there is a clear distinction between the two sets of possessions, despite the over-lap. Poorer people have no mention of silver, have some pewter or brass as their most respectable possession, the same type of goods as the farmers but in greatly reduced quality and quantity—hemp and fustian instead of linen, chaff instead of feather beds. These differences in possessions seem to define class differences more vividly and more accurately than financial accounts, and allow a man to call himself a yeoman with a few pounds in cash to his credit, and a gentleman when he is bankrupt.

Houses become more comfortable as references to ‘painted cloths’, (a cheaper form of tapestry), window curtains and carpets, increase towards the end of the 17th century. Henry Harrison’s house is the only one where wainscotting is mentioned. Glass-cases, ‘seeing’ or looking glasses, smoothing irons and warming pans also seem to become more plentiful; and with wooden settles and chairs, the many cushions of all sorts must have been a boon and a blessing.

At a time of such religious ferment one would have expected a frequent mention of Bibles, but in fact references are rare. Perhaps in some cases a family Bible was handed down and did not appear in the inventory. Not more than half a dozen are mentioned—Christopher Lewlin (Bedale 1673) and Roger Sturdy, linen-weaver (Aiskew—date not given in the inventory) each had one. There is one mention of a prayer book.

Other books are mentioned, but rarely:—

1623 Thomas Metcalf, tanner, Bedale, ‘books of learning £1’

1660 Christopher Conyers, Master of Firby Hospital, ‘books—5 shillings’

1668 Henry Harrison Esquire, Holtby, ‘30 books in folio & 40 small books’

1673 Chris. Lewlin, Bedale, ‘Bible and other books’.

1681 Robert Binlowes, yeoman, Aiskew, ‘books 6 shillings’.

1698 Edward Thomson, saddler, Bedale, ‘17 books’.

So the gentry have books, and the Master of Firby Hospital⁹, but also tradesmen and yeomen.¹⁰

Between the Tudor uprisings and the Stuart Civil War one would have expected a record of arms; but in fact they are as scarce as Bibles. In so far as they are mentioned, they seem to be in use in the 16th rather than the 17th century. Christopher Mason, a ‘serving man’ in Aiskew (1575) had ‘swords, a gun artillonye for a crossbow and his armorie’. Robert Fisher (Snape 1587) carried a sword and a dagger. He otherwise left only his elegant clothes, ‘his drawing patterns’ and a trunk, and seems to have been a visiting architect or designer. Luke Nelson of Aiskew had a small farm, but may have been related to the rich and important branch of the family which emerges elsewhere. He left ‘his apparel with sword, brydell and saddels and money in his purse’ the lot worth only £1. Thus in the 16th century there seem to have been weapons around rather like guns in the Wild West at a later date. The only weapons mentioned in the 17th century

8. See O. Ashmore and others, ‘Inventories as a Source of Local History’, *Amateur Historian* (now *Local Historian*) I, 4 (1959) and subsequent issues.

9. Christ’s Hospital, Firby, was founded in 1608 by John Clapham for a Master and six brethren of the age of 60. The Master was to be single, at least 40 years old, able to read English and to write legibly, and to have been born in Bedale or have been living there seven years.

10. John Flanders, Theakston 1661, is an exception: a labourer with a hay spade and digging spade, a chaffbed etc., he had a Bible worth 4s.

seem rather derelict, and belong to the Lewlin family. Christopher Lewlin died in 1673 and left '2 old cantled swords and a belt'. Sarah, apparently his widow, died in 1685 and had 'a suit of arms, with back, brest and head piece' and a halberd. They stood in the entry chamber along with a chest of odds and ends and a tub of beef, so were either stood on display or stored away. They are valued at only a few shillings. The Lewlins are a problem, having no farm to support them, nor a trade, and since there are a great number of beds and tankards mentioned they may have kept an inn, especially as there is 'one Sign being the King's arms and garland.'

There are of course the interesting oddments such as a hawking bag, a birding piece, and the Lewlins had a pair of old virginals, the only musical instruments mentioned.

An interesting contrast to our present day way of life is the great store of goods which the farmers and yeomen in particular had by them. There were piles of linen sheets and pillowcases stored away in chests; flitches of ham, tubs of salt beef, more rarely stores of butter and cheese, yarn, cloth, coals for the fire and loose wood. It hints at a confidence in the future when these things would be used; and a self-reliance ready to cope with that future.

These of course were the people who could afford it. After almost a surfeit of such plenty one turns to the majority who were able to make no such provision, and who have had little mention because there is little there to mention. Thomas Awder in 1690 left:—

- 2 old cows
- 1 cupboard, a table, an old bedstead
- 4 little pewter dishes, a flagon, an old candlestick
- 2 chairs, a pail, a churn and a pot
- A brass ladle, a little kettle with other small implements not worth naming.
- The whole worth £6.4.4.

Doubtless he had friends who considered him well-off and fortunate.

Crafts

In considering the incidence of crafts such as butter and cheese making, brewing, spinning and weaving, one is more than ever conscious that the documents one is using were not devised for this purpose. To the Appraisers a 'tub' is sufficient description, and whether it was used for brewing or dairy work can now only be speculation. Such entries as churns and cheese vats and presses are certain evidence of dairy work; a 'gyle vat' or 'gyle fat' and 'maske' or 'mash vat' are proof of brewing; and spinning wheels and looms are unmistakable. But this leaves areas where one cannot be certain. With every latitude given though, so that a 'kimlin' which might be used for brewing, but might also be used for salting meat or making bread, is taken to mean brewing; and a store of yarn is taken to imply textile work, it is clear that more than half the people whose inventories have survived were not involved in each of these crafts.

Percent. of inventories mentioning textiles, dairy work & brewing.

Place	Textiles	Dairy work	Brewing	All 3 crafts
Bedale	21%	30%	36%	7%
Aiskew	37%	43%	40%	13%
Villages	32%	38%	28%	5%

Thus the popular picture of Merrie England where each man brewed his own beer, spun and wove his own cloth and made his own butter and cheese is far from true in this area at least.

Moreover, as regards brewing and textiles, these crafts were not generally pursued from the original raw material to the finished product. Three-fifths of those brewing in Bedale had no store of malt or barley, and so were presumably buying their malt from a maltster. One suspects that Thomas Walker (1542) with 30 quarters of malt and 28 quarters of barley; and William Kirby (1556) and Nicholas Kirby (1616) who also have stocks of barley and malt, and kilns, might be maltsters, and that there were others later,

and that this was a specialism of Bedale.

Some whose occupation was otherwise, prepared their own malt, such as William Larkynson of Burneston (1558), who had a very large farm, but had 28qrs. of malt stored and 32 acres under barley. Christopher Nelson, the farmer-butcher of Bedale (1663) had a 'malt garner' and 'malt to the vallew of £20.' Very few other farmers had a similar store. There are, in fact, 10 examples of a considerable store of malt in Bedale, none in Aiskew, and only the one quoted in Burneston in the Villages. It does seem that maltsters formed an industry and would supply the needs of labourers such as Christopher Clapham of Snape, who had a brewing kettle, 3 old tubs, but no malt and no barley.

Something of the same position is seen in the making of cloth. It is well known that several spinsters were needed to supply yarn to one weaver, but it seems more than accidental that in Bedale there were no looms at all, and almost none in the villages. Spinning wheels abound, worth something from 8 pence to one shilling, usually one to a household, but sometimes two. Very few other items of textile equipment are mentioned. In 1558 John Tennant, yeoman of Bedale, had a pair of wool cards, a pair of combs and 2 heckles. In 1605 Humphrey Fridgeley in Snape had 'all implements belonging to his trade, as tenters—10s.' In 1629 a tailor in Exelby had 'a heckle and 2 reels'. In 1559, in Theakston, Thomas Adamsson had 3 pairs of wool cards, 2 wymbles and a wheel.

In Aiskew one finds the looms:—

1680. John Weatherilt.
Household — £2.13.11.
Money and clothing — £1.10.
Farm — £6.12.2. (2 cows, a yearling calf, 1 little galloway, 10 ewes, 3 lambs)
Work material — £1.2.0. 5 looms & working gear in the workhouse
Total — £11.18.1
1682. Henry Young,
Purse and apparel — £8
Looms — 3 linen working looms with all the gears and working tools thereto belonging — £6.7.3.
Total — £14.7.3.

Another linen weaver is mentioned in Aiskew but no date is given for the inventory, though it seems for about 1675. Robert Sturdy is stated to be a linen weaver, kept a cow, horse, 2 ewes and 10 lambs, and had a loom and gear worth 16s. 'and other working gear thereto belonging' in the workshop. His estate was worth £14.12.

Any chance that looms were present but for some reason are not mentioned elsewhere seems overborne by the proliferation of looms in Aiskew which cannot be accidental; and by the fact that they were in workshops. Another popular picture, of the loom set up in the cottage living room while the entire family gathers round at its various tasks of teasing, carding, spinning etc. does not fit the case here. Apart from those in Aiskew, the only other loom mentioned is in an almost indecipherable inventory for someone by the name of Plant in Snape. The date is not known, but he had '2 looms and gear'. It would seem that weavers were specialists.

The spinners were not necessarily spinning their own yarn. Linen is often mentioned where flax is not grown, and spinning wheels are found in households where no sheep are kept. This could mean that the wheel mentioned was once used but is now laid aside, but it happens too frequently for this to be likely. It seems that spinsters take in yarn to spin. The inventories mention extensive stores of linen yarn, harden yarn, coverlate yarn and woollen yarn; there is 'hemp and yarn', 'one stone of wool, fleeces of wool, and 'yarn, flax and tow'. There are also stores of cloth, yards of harden, woollen and linen, and even 8 yards of cotton cloth.

Apparently a 'web of cloth' is a piece of cloth being woven, or just off the loom. Christopher Nelson had 'a web of linen cloth', and William Parkynson also had a 'linen web 35 yards, a web 20 yards and 23 yards harden web'. These are two of the yeomen

found malting their own barley, and seem part of the very small minority of large households who perhaps were self-sufficient in supplying their own needs; whose ability to do so has perhaps disguised the dependance of less fortunate establishments and hidden the presence of specialised sections of the brewing and weaving trades.

Dairywork was widespread, though a minority of households made both butter and cheese:—

<i>Place</i>	<i>Making butter & Cheese</i>	<i>Butter only</i>	<i>Cheese only</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bedale	8	10	3	21
Aiskew	4	9	Nil	13
Villages	14	22	8	44
	26	41	11	78

Almost without exception, those making butter and cheese kept their own cattle, even if it was only a solitary milk cow.

Naturally the farmers and husbandmen were the most involved in this work, but some of the tradesmen were too. Christopher Whittling the miller of Bedale, had 2 churns, cheese vats and a trough. Grace Lambe who had a 'shop' and may have kept an inn, made butter and cheese, as did Edward Thomson the saddler, who had a cream-pot, 11 bowls, 3 cheese vats, a cheese press and a store of 10 cheeses. In Aiskew only the farmers were in this category, but in the villages Henry Owthweet, a tailor of Exelby, had 2 churns and a cheese vat. Several widows and spinsters also made both butter and cheese.

Few people stored dairy produce. John Gekdarte had 'three stones of salt butter' (Burrill 1601) and Nicholas Kirby had 13 cheese worth 13s and a barrel of butter (Bedale 1616). George Webster had a firkin of butter and 12 cheese and George Cooke the grocer had a cheese press, a trough and a store of cheese, so it seems he sold his own produce.

As in all the crafts mentioned, the equipment needed seems very simple; a churn and churn-staff, bowls, sometimes a cream-pot and sometimes a 'butter-sett' or 'butter-kitt' for making butter; and vats or a trough, a press and boards or shelves for making cheese.

There were also those who depended on craft for their livelihood. In such a comprehensively agricultural area, such crafts depended on agriculture for the raw material, and those mentioned are as follows:—

Glover, tanner, shoemaker, miller, cordwainer, saddler, weaver, dyer, fell-monger, tailor, 'wright'.

The blacksmith had to look further afield for his raw materials but was an essential part of the rural scene.

The inventories show the equipment and stores held by these craftsmen, and their social status. This varies, from the very prosperous to the humble, and in the circumstances it is impossible to generalise. One can only look at the individuals.

Thomas Metcalfe (Bedale 1623) was a very prosperous tanner, whose estate was valued at over £70. Almost all his wealth accrues from his trade. He had;

'Certain . . leather 17s; two dakers of leather with one linenbacken £9;

6 odd hides £3; eight horse hides £1.13.4; 11 bend leather hides £11;

2 hides 3 slick leathers 2 horse hides £1.6.4.; Total £26.16.8

All his bark for tanning use:—£6.13.4.

Apron and working knives £6.0.3.; shutting tubs, 3 handlings, 1 leck, 1 sloope, 2 scouring tubs, 2 kimlings, 1 say tub, 1 sceeler, 1 leck trough £8; 20 tubb girre 10s. Total £14.10.3.

William Gatenby of Snape has already been quoted as a rich man who was a tanner. This seems to have been a large scale business.

Matthew Cowed¹¹ the shoemaker (Bedale 1671) left an estate worth £123. He had a ten-roomed house with a garret and a shop, a little farm stock worth £7.10; and is one of the few with a store of malt and barley for his brewing.

11. 'Coward' in other documents.

Other craftsmen seem in a much more modest way of business, and their wealth seems to lie in their farm stock rather than in the tools of their trade. An example of this is Richard King, a cordwainer in Bedale, 1719:—

Household—£6.5.
Purse and apparel—£3
Farm—£14.11
Leather stocks—£4
Debts due to him—£11
Net value—£38.16.

The tools of the trades seem simple and inexpensive. The butcher had an axe and a chopping table. The blacksmith had '2 pairs of bellows, handers, grindstones, vices and all other smithie work' worth £3.6.8.; and 3 stiddies or anvils worth £4. He died quite a rich man, worth over £70, but in actual goods his farm was worth most (£46). These craftsmen seem to have depended on their trade for income, but the farm stock they invariably kept was the most part of their goods.

Village craftsmen were of a humbler standard. William Kay, the blacksmith at Burneston (1684) had coals and iron in the shop worth 19s, smithy bellows and other work tools worth £3; and his whole estate was worth less than £10. The tailor Henry Owthweet of Exelby was worth £2.16.2. It has already been seen that the weavers of Aiskew lived in a humble way.

The picture is of a wide range of craftsmanship, where many people could turn their hand to many skills; and this is the distant ancestry of some activities in the same area today. Then, the miller also had carpenter's tools. Now, the last miller at Aiskew mill adapted his water wheel to provide electric lighting there. Then, Christopher Nelson and William Parkynson were engaged in all crafts on their farms. Today a farmer in Crakehall has a workshop where making, mending and inventing take place. Within living memory farms had blacksmith's tools and forges.

It was the large households which, in the inventories, pursued the most crafts. The poor had no room, time or equipment. They might brew a little or spin a little or make a little butter, but more often they did not. Their craft was the labour by which they earned their bread. This skill they left when the industrial revolution took them to the towns, and it is one of the benefits they lost. Few lost their home-brewed ale, home-made butter and cheese, or, except in the case of the weavers, their own woven cloth, because many had not possessed these things as far back as the Tudor and Stuart period.

Farming

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these inventories is the importance of farming to the community which they disclose. Today the area is still largely rural, but the percentage of people directly concerned with farming is probably in inverse proportion to what it was then. In Aiskew and the villages, five out of six people kept farm stock; and even in Bedale four out of five did. Of those who did not, the majority were widows and the owners of poor households, invariably worth less than £10, labourers and probably the old. At the other end of the scale some gentry lived apart from the farming world, like Robert Fisher afore-mentioned who died in Snape possessed only of fine apparel, his weapons and his drawing patterns. Joseph Dodsworth Esquire died in Thornton Watlass in 1672 leaving 'all the household goods in his bedchamber worth £20.' Presumably he was a retired, elderly gentleman, boarding in one room in the family home of Thornton Watlass Hall. William Legatt, gentleman of Bedale (1632) had only 'one sable gelding' and the furnishings for what again was probably one room.

The other class of people who sometimes had no farming stock were craftsmen or traders; Nicholas Bayne, cordwainer in Well (1671); a 'serving man'; a currier; and one of the weavers in Aiskew; and in Bedale a grocer, maltster, tanner, whitesmith and inn-

keeper. This does not apply to all the craftsmen, most of whom also farmed and had farming goods worth more than their trade goods at times.¹²

Those without farming stock in the inventories.

Bedale: 1 labourer; 5 valued under £10; 1 valued £10.14 living in 2 rooms; 1 valued £14.2.8; 6 craftsmen or traders; 3 gentlefolk. Total: —17 out of 70.

Aiskew: 1 widow valued £5.14.4; 2 craftsmen; 1 'serving man'; 1 widow left £60 by her husband. Total:— 5 out of 30.

Villages:—9 valued at under £10 including 1 widow; 1 widow valued at £22.3.2; 1 with £24 in bonds and nothing else; the Master of Firby Hospital; 1 cordwainer; 2 gentleman lodgers; 1 lady. Total:— 16 out of 114.

Everywhere the pattern was of a few large farms, many small holdings, and an almost universal spread of households keeping a cow for milk, a pig for bacon, a few hens and perhaps a hive of bees.

The large farms had large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep:—

1558. John Tennant, Bedale. 175 sheep, nearly 80 assorted cattle, 19 oxen.

1568. Richard Nelson, Aiskew. 80 sheep, 7 cattle, 15 oxen, 6 horses.

1670. Timothy Hutton, Exelby. 59 ewes, 36 cattle, 6 oxen.

1720. Edward Ellerton, Aiskew. 35 sheep and lambs, 22 cattle.

There are only 2 cases where a sizeable herd of cattle is valued but there are no sheep:—

1576. John Haxwell, Exelby. Oxen and cattle valued £15; horses £7; No sheep.

1558. Christopher Hutton, Theakston. Cattle worth £20. No sheep.

No mention is made of breeds, except that twice 'northern sheep' are mentioned; and 'a little galloway' is a popular horse for general use.

Sheep and cattle formed the greater part of the farm stock, with oxen and/or horses for ploughing and pulling carts. Pigs were negligible in number, except in one instance in Bedale, where Robert Justance, (brewer?) in 1578 kept 10 swine and no other stock, presumably feeding them on waste from his trade. Sometimes as many as 7 or 8 pigs would be found on a farm, often a sow and pigs (presumably a litter); but in the majority of cases there are one or two pigs apparently kept to be fattened and killed for bacon and ham. As such they reach well down the social scale, and are kept by those who have no other stock apart from a milk cow.

Where oxen are listed it can be known that they were needed for farm work; but horses were also used for riding, and one cannot always tell what they were used for in any particular case. Since horses had this double function—and the same horse could be used for both then as in Jane Austen's time¹³ it is not surprising that they are mentioned in most of the inventories that mention stock at all. They vary from William Legatt's 'sable gelding' for riding, worth £4, to Kipling the fellmonger's 'scabbed galloway' to pull his cart, worth £1.6.8; and from the extensive stable of George Webster, yeoman, with a mare and her foal, 2 staggs¹⁴, 1 old horse and 1 white mare—to John Foster the husbandman's 'one little working horse'.

Oxen are rarer in Bedale, but are mentioned in almost half of the farming inventories elsewhere. Usually between one and six were kept, but William Parkynson of Burneston (1558) had an unprecedented 28.¹⁵

It is difficult to be sure from the inventories of the amount of cultivation and the amount of crops grown, as the acres under crop and the stores vary with the time of year when the inventory was taken. The presence of ploughs, 'wain gear' and wheels shows

12. See preceding section.

13. See *Pride and Prejudice* where Mr. Bennet was asked if he could spare the horses from farm work to draw the carriage.

14. A stag was a small working horse.

15. Oxen were kept in 5 out of 63 Bedale inventories in 12 of 25 Aiskew inventories, and in 37 out of 95 village inventories mentioning stock.

husbandry but not how much. Where crops are mentioned, the terms vary, so that sometimes acreage is given, sometimes measure by weight, or quantity; sometimes a monetary value. All one can be sure of is that wheat, barley, oats, rye and a mixture of these, were grown; and that wheat and barley seem to have been the most common, with rye, oats and any sort of mixture less so. A further complication is that 'corn' is often mentioned, which may or may not be wheat.

Other crops were grown to a much less extent, but fairly frequently ie. beans and peas, with peas the more popular. Very rarely, vegetables are mentioned—parsnips, carrots, and onions. One inventory mentions apples.

Bees are relatively common, generally with 2, 3, or 4 hives. Occasionally 'one beehive' or 'a winterstock of bees' is listed. It is unusual when Roger Greathead, a glover of Bedale, had nine hives.

Poultry are common, but little regarded, mentioned casually in with the pig, and various sorts lumped together, ie:—

hens, one goose, ducks 5 s.

1 pig, geese, hens 7/8

Hens and geese are the most common fowl, with ducks less so. Turkeys are present in one or two cases, but rare, and belonging to the gentleman farmer. One wonders if what we understand by a turkey is the fowl described in such early documents.¹⁶

Christopher Nelson, Bedale (1663); 4 old turkies, 10 geese with other poultry £1

Richard Gatenby, Well (1577); turkeys, geese and other poultry, 1 sow, 7 pigs £1

The picture is very much one of all sorts and conditions of people keeping a milking cow, a pig, a few poultry; and growing enough hay for their own stock, while saving manure 'at the back' or 'in the garth' to return goodness to the land. The animals are endearingly real as the appraisers describe them:— 'one grey mare . . . three young pigs . . . 1 grey horse, 1 bay mare . . . two old cows . . . 5 kine, 1 calf, 1 blind mare.' One sees the cycle on the small-holding or farm as the young stock are mentioned, showing that these people whose prime interest was not farming, but who kept a sufficiency for their own needs, bred their animals rather than buying and selling and dealing in stock.

In particular we see how aware the appraisers were of farm life by the technical terms they use—terms recognisable by a Yorkshire farmer to day but long lost to an urban vocabulary. The flocks and herds are described in meticulous detail:—

John Tennant, Bedale. 1558.

4 stotts	£4
13 twynter nowtes	£8.13.4.
5 kye & 3 calves	£5
20 stirks	£10
3 bulls	£2
80 weythens	£5.13.4.
80 yowes	£10.13.4.
15 tuppes	£1.10. .
4 sowes, 1 boar, 2 shotts	£1.13.4.
11 horses, mares and colts	£7.6.8.

Such a yeoman farmer with a house of 11 rooms, four of them elegant with 'painted cloths'; reckons, iron crooks and 6 spits for cooking; platters and trenchers, tablecloths and linen towels, napkins and pillowcases; carpets, tables, forms, chairs and cushions; a milk-house, buttery and brewing house, making butter and cheese, brewing beer and spinning yarn, with a full complement of animals and crops to depend on—must represent the ideal of English Tudor husbandry.

Such establishments occurred only rarely, and it is impossible to estimate precisely

16. Turkeys were discovered in Mexico by Europeans in 1518, but the word was at first applied to guinea fowl.

from these documents just how rarely. What is shown for certain is detailed, intimate proof of a way of life and of farming that seems to have been prosperous and pleasant for those able to enjoy it. William Cobbett would probably have applauded the lack of separate quarters for servants. How far it was achieved at the cost of enclosure, depopulation for sheep pasture and 'lost villages' is nowhere disclosed in these documents, and one is not even led to suspect it.

Final remarks

Further work could be done on these wills and inventories. From the wills variations in Roman Catholic and Protestant forms and funeral practices could be examined. They also show family structure and the sorts and value of possessions thought to be worth bequeathing. The witnesses of wills and the appraisers of inventories could be investigated to see how often the same names recur, an aspect on which Dr. D. Bowden and Mrs. Rudd of Exelby have worked, and to determine the sort of people chosen for these functions and their standard of literacy. Testators, witnesses and appraisers might be traced through parish registers, churchwardens' accounts, or Hearth Tax returns. Local investigation might also reveal the sites of some of the houses mentioned. More work on surnames would show the ramifications of families and the persistence of family names in the area. It is to be hoped that the collection of wills and inventories as photocopied, together with the transcriptions and analyses, will be placed in Bedale Library and be made available for any who wish to pursue these investigations.

CLEAN MILK FOR YORK: C. W. SORENSEN AND THE WHITE ROSE DAIRY

By A. HARRIS

The achievement of Carl Wilfred Sorensen (1871-1948) was widely acknowledged in his lifetime. In 1903, shortly after he had taken a farm at West Huntington on the northern outskirts of York (Fig. 1), his methods of milk production there were said to represent 'the high tide of dairy farm work in England', and for the next ten or twelve years his system of management was frequently singled out for approval by writers on public health in relation to the milk supply.¹

Sorensen's tenancy of a farm on land owned first by Joseph Rowntree and later by the Joseph Rowntree Trust, ensured that his work received notice in another connection, for Rowntree's model village of New Earswick was complemented by the model dairy nearby known as the White Rose. Indeed, visitors to the one not infrequently went on to inspect the other. Sorensen's work has received little attention from modern scholars, however, perhaps because it fits somewhat uneasily into the usual story of New Earswick, being less a part of architectural or planning history than an episode in the history of agriculture.

Sorensen took with him to Yorkshire a wide knowledge of the dairy industry, which had been acquired first in his native Denmark and subsequently in New Zealand and Lancashire. Unlike most local farmers, he had spent his early years in an environment which made him acutely aware of the complex relations between milk production on the one hand and milk-borne disease on the other, and he was unusual also in having served in an advisory capacity to both public and private bodies with an interest in dairying before himself becoming a producer-retailer of milk. When he died in 1948, several of these things were recalled in his obituary, but without further comment.² It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that some at least of Sorensen's activities were of more than local importance and, further, that the model dairy at Earswick was of scarcely less interest in its day than the model village.

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Sorensen's approach to milk production in England owed a great deal to an early association with one of the great dairy companies of Europe, the Copenhagen Milk Supply Company (Københavns Mælkeforsyning), which had been founded in 1878 by his uncle Gunni Busck (1840-1920). At a time of swift and profound change in Danish agriculture, Busck was to emerge during the 1860s and 1870s as an influential figure.³ Compelled by ill-health to abandon a career in medicine, he entered trade and in 1863 formed the Scandinavian Preserved Butter Company, whose products found their way to many parts of the tropical world sealed in tins. Seeking a use for the surplus buttermilk from this trade, Busck next developed an export business in cheese, and, at about the same time, was responsible for the formation in 1875 of the first Danish co-operative

1. H. Swithinbank and G. Newman, *Bacteriology of Milk*, London (1903), p.595. Other notices occur in *Public Health*, xvi (1903-1904), pp. 305-6; *British Medical Journal*, Vol. i of 1904, p. 49; *The Times*, 27 Sept. 1906; W. G. Savage, *Milk and the Public Health*, London (1912), pp. 410-11.
2. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 3 Dec. 1948.
3. Much of the information on Busck derives from *Mælkeritidende* (*The Dairy Journal*), 33rd year (1920), pp. 225-7 and *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, iv, Copenhagen (1934), p. 372. See also *Journal Royal Agricultural Society of England*, xii, series 2 (1876), p. 349.

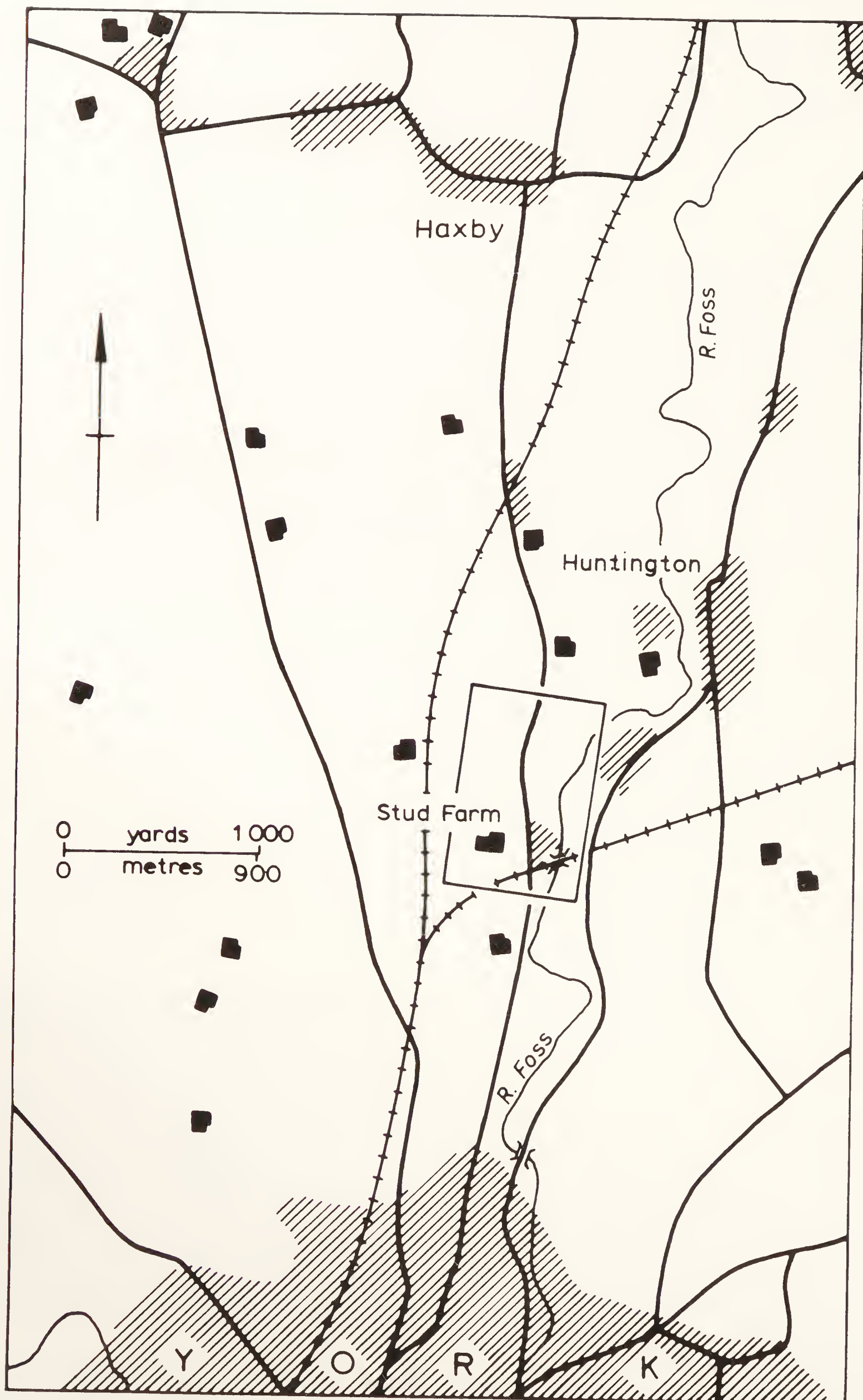


Fig. 1. Settlements on the northern edge of York, c.1900. The area in the immediate vicinity of the stud farm is shown in greater detail on Fig. 2. The larger places are indicated by shading and the farmsteads in solid black. Redrawn from Ordnance Survey One-Inch map, Sheet 27, York, published in 1908 with revisions to 1904-1905.

dairy. To all of these activities he brought an unusual ability to organise and an insistence on high standards. Long before he entered the fresh milk trade, Busck had become convinced that high standards would be maintained only with the help of a well trained and disciplined workforce.

The Copenhagen Milk Supply Company was run accordingly.⁴ Meticulous attention to detail combined with the application of stringent but simple rules, ensured that the entire process, from the feeding of cows to the distribution of milk, was subject to close supervision, farmers under contract to the company being watched no less closely than its own employees. Cattle were inspected once a fortnight by the firm's own veterinary surgeon, while other aspects of dairy management on the farms came under the scrutiny of inspectors and dairymaids acting on behalf of the company. The keeping quality of the firm's milk, most of which was sold untreated, was safeguarded by its being kept always cool. For this purpose special 'ice-wagons' (railway vans designed to hold ice as well as milk churns), were provided by the company to carry milk from the country districts to a depot in Copenhagen. Great quantities of ice were used also at the depot itself and in the roundsmen's carts. The importance of the cooling process as a means of keeping milk fresh was emphasised further by the rule that each farmer under contract should 'immediately after milking, and during all seasons of the year', reduce the temperature of the milk to about 6°C.⁵ If a farmer did not have the necessary equipment, usually a Lawrence cooler, he was to hire it from the company. Because the milk retained its freshness, Busck was able to limit the number of deliveries made by his roundsmen, and in this way set off a comparatively low distribution cost against high costs elsewhere. Some milk, destined chiefly for infants, was bottled before sale, but where this was not the case, care was taken to prevent milk from becoming contaminated or adulterated once it left the depot. 'The taps of the churns on the [roundsmen's] carts are covered by metal flaps to prevent the ingress of dust and dirt to the nozzles, and special milk in bottles is placed in ice in a separate covered part of the van'.⁶ Above each tap was an indication of the quality of the milk within. When a sale had been completed, each customer received a ticket, of a colour appropriate to the quality of the milk, and on which were recorded the price and the quantity of the transaction. H. Rider Haggard was to commend these practices in 1901 'as a counsel of perfection to English dairy farmers', but of the Danish company's regulations he added, 'what would happen if we were asked to sign them, I am sure I do not know'.⁷ By 1900 a handful of the bigger English dairy companies might reasonably have claimed that their standards were not markedly inferior to those of Busck's firm, but they were conspicuous by being so few. Of the standards on many thousands of English dairy farms, knowledgeable observers could find little good to say.⁸

The Copenhagen Milk Supply Company differed from others of its kind in the Danish capital not only in continuing to sell untreated milk at a time when some form of heat treatment was gaining support in medical circles, but also in 'being rather to serve as a model to others'.⁹ Busck's purpose in founding the company, as Sorensen himself was to record, had been 'philanthropic . . ., with the idea of supplying the town of Copenhagen with an absolutely pure supply of milk at the lowest possible price it could be done for'.¹⁰

4. The account of the Copenhagen company is based principally on Swithinbank and Newman, *op. cit.*; *B.M.J.*, Vol. i of 1903, pp. 933 ff; British Parliamentary Papers, 1902, xxxiv (Cd. 833).

5. B.P.P. 1902, xxxiv, Appendix, p. 286.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

7. H. Rider Haggard, *Rural Denmark and its Lessons*, London (1911), pp. 85-96, has a long account of the company, from which this quotation is taken.

8. Savage, *op. cit.*, provides a comprehensive survey. For some exceptions, both farms and dairy companies, see *The Lancet*, Vol. i of 1901, pp. 1841 ff. and *B.M.J.*, Vol. i of 1903, p. 801.

9. B.P.P. *Accounts & Papers*, 1908, cxi (Cd. 3727), pp. 26-7.

10. B.P.P., 1902, xxxiv, evidence of C. W. Sorensen.

This meant in practice that shareholders had to be content with a dividend of 5 per cent at the most, while much of the profit 'went to charity in the form of cheap milk for the needy'.¹¹ During the later years of the nineteenth century, Busck's premises in the suburbs of Copenhagen came to attract a stream of dairy experts, medical officers and agricultural journalists from many parts of the world. The company's regulations were translated into English in 1889 and news of its activities gradually penetrated beyond the confines of the dairy industry. Lengthy accounts of its character were to appear in a number of British parliamentary papers and Busck's name eventually became almost as familiar in some circles abroad as it was in Denmark itself. All of this would have been familiar to Sorensen, who had received his early training with Busck and who was to recall, long after he had left Denmark, that he was still 'intimately connected' with his uncle's firm.¹² On many occasions he was to show that he was entirely familiar with its practices.

It is likely that Busck's advice was sought when, in 1891 or 1892, Sorensen left Denmark for New Zealand to start business 'on my own account' as a manufacturer and shipper of dairy produce, a job which was to occupy him until 1895, when he became a Dairy Instructor with the New Zealand Department of Agriculture.¹³ During the next three years, and while still in his twenties, he was to make a name for himself as a careful and well informed critic of the dairy industry. He was to publish in New Zealand several short papers on co-operative dairying and the pasteurization of milk, and to carry out useful experimental work on the keeping qualities of butter.¹⁴ By the time he left that country, he had been promoted to Chief Inspector with the Department of Agriculture, a post which made him effectively the principal officer responsible for advisory work in dairying. The next stage of his career, after 1898, was to take him, of all unlikely places, to Manchester.



In a lengthy review of the city's milk supplies presented in 1895 at the end of his first year in office, James Niven, the M.O.H. for Manchester, criticized both the farms from which milk was drawn and the ways in which it was handled subsequently.¹⁵ 'It has been suggested to me' [he wrote] 'that a company of the same character as the Copenhagen Milk Supply Association might with great advantage be established in Manchester'. Niven's immediate source of information about the Danish company seems to have been Sir Bosdin Thomas Leech, a former Lord Mayor of Manchester, but Niven was familiar already with translations of the company's regulations and was himself shortly to visit Copenhagen.¹⁶ His crusading zeal in pursuit of cleaner milk was to absorb some of his abundant energies for many years to come, and he harboured no illusions about the size of the problem. A company modelled on Busck's might nevertheless help to raise standards by setting an example to others: such a company might also supply milk to 'our working-class districts, where it would be so helpful, especially to the nourishment of children'.¹⁷ Largely as a result of Niven's enthusiasm, the Manchester Pure Milk

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11. *Maelkeritidende* (1920), p. 225.
 12. B.P.P., 1902, xxxiv, evidence of C. W. Sorensen.
 13. *Ibid.*, and Audit Salary Registers (1893-1900), National Archives, New Zealand, *per.* Ruth Stoddart.
 14. B.P.P., 1902, xxxiv, evidence of H. C. Cameron. Sorensen's publications, which are dated 1892, 1897 and 1898, are listed in A. G. Bagmall (ed), *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, iv, 1890-1960 p-z, Wellington (1975), p. 223.
 15. *Annual Report M.O.H. City of Manchester for 1894*, Manchester (1895), p. 112. The M.O.H. reports for the city were seen in the Local History Library of Manchester Central Library.
 16. For James Niven (1851-1925) see *The Times*, 2 Oct. 1925 and *The Lancet* 10 Oct. 1925. His visit to Denmark is discussed in *Public Health* ix (1896-97), p. 104. A note on Leech appears in *Who Was Who 1897-1916*, London (1920) and in *The Times*, 17 Ap. 1912.
 17. *M.O.H. Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Company Ltd. was formed. A depot was opened at Old Trafford and the firm was in business by the early months of 1899 with Sorensen as 'consulting expert'.¹⁸ It is conjecture but perhaps not unreasonable conjecture, to suggest that his appointment followed a recommendation from Busck himself.

Certainly, Sorensen attempted in the next year or two to create in Manchester a small scale version of his uncle's company, purchasing milk only from carefully chosen farms whose occupants agreed to meet his conditions and insisting on the importance of the cooling process as a means of keeping milk fresh. Like the Danish company, the Manchester concern owned no farms of its own and it was Sorensen's responsibility to see that farmers were supplied with ice and that they made use of it. Though some milk was pasteurized and sold in bottles, its sale was not encouraged. To subject milk to some form of heat treatment was to tackle the problem of the milk supply from the wrong end, Sorensen believed, even though heat treatment might be necessary in certain circumstances. The correct approach was to strive for 'milk uncooked, free from disease-germs and dirt, and undrugged with chemical preservatives'.¹⁹

But Manchester stubbornly refused to behave like Copenhagen. Busck had found it hard in the early days to persuade his suppliers to meet the company's standards: Sorensen had the same problem in rural Cheshire, in spite of the offer of favourable contract prices. After an initial honeymoon, the company's suppliers became careless and, in some cases, refused to use ice in the manner recommended. More serious still, as Niven was to explain after the experiment had come to an end in 1902, the company suffered 'for want of support', potential customers sharing a regrettable preference for milk drawn warm from the cans of town cowkeepers and delivered twice daily.²⁰

The Manchester company's efforts did not pass unnoticed, however, and in its brief existence attracted substantial publicity.²¹ Sorensen's first meeting with B. Seeböhm Rowntree took place in Manchester while he was still with the firm, and it is certain that among its many visitors was Edmund M. Smith, the M.O.H. for York, who was deeply involved at the time with the question of his own city's milk supply, and in particular with its possible bearing on an alarmingly high rate of infant mortality.²² For Sorensen, Manchester was to lead to York. Both he and Seeböhm Rowntree were present at a meeting of the York Medical Society in April 1900 at which the subject under discussion was milk. As the Society's Minute Book records: 'Mr. Sorensen (sic) described the processes of sterilization and refrigeration employed at Copenhagen and at Manchester and discussed the relative virtues of the two processes'.²³ Also present was Edmund Smith, who 'commended the Manchester method of refrigeration and filtration', while pointing out that some milk might be so impure as to be made safe only by being

18. B.P.P., 1902, xxxiv, evidence of C. W. Sorensen; *Slater's Manchester, Salford & Suburban Directory* (1901), p. 988. I am grateful to the staff of Manchester Local History Library for help in tracing this company.

19. Full accounts of the Manchester company's work appear in *Public Health* xii (1899-1900), p. 742 and in E. M. Smith, *Special Report by the Medical Officer of Health on Infantile Mortality & Summer Diarrhoea in York, and the Question of a Pure Milk Supply*, York (1900). The quotation is from C. W. Sorensen, 'Some Aspects of the Pure Milk Problem from Within', *Journal Royal Sanitary Institute* xxvi (1905), p. 540.

20. *Annual Report M.O.H. City of Manchester for 1902*, Manchester (1903), pp. 115 ff. See also *The Lancet*, Vol. i of 1904, p. 41. Many years later Niven was to recall that the ice supplied by the company to farmers 'was said to come in very handy for brandy and soda' (James Niven, *Observations on the History of Public Health Effort in Manchester*, Manchester, 1923, p. 146).

21. The North-Western Branch of the Society of Medical Officers of Health, for example, had a conducted tour of the company's premises and reported members' impressions in *Public Health*, xii (1899-1900).

22. Sorensen's meeting with B. S. Rowntree is mentioned in *Yorkshire Gazette*, 3 Dec. 1948. Smith's activities at this time can be traced in York City Council Minutes, 1900 *et. seq.* Seeböhm Rowntree may have been personally familiar with the Copenhagen company's work by this time. He was to discuss it, though not that of the Manchester company, in his *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London (1901).

23. York Medical Society, Minute Book 1870-1900, 4 Ap. 1900. Sorensen took with him to the meeting 'specimens of apparatus (milk-cans, bottles, cruets etc.) employed at Manchester'.

subjected to heat before sale. The Manchester experiment had not yet run into serious trouble and it is unlikely, therefore, that the possibility that Sorensen might move to York was raised at this time. Accounts agree that when the invitation did come, it originated with Seebohm Rowntree: the York meeting may thus have been recalled in different circumstances a year or so later.²⁴ During 1901 Joseph Rowntree's plans for Earswick were maturing and in April 1902, with the purchase of 125 acres of agricultural land at West Huntington, including the buildings of a former stud farm, Seebohm's father acquired land on which to construct houses and, in the meantime, to use for other purposes.²⁵ Before the end of 1902, Sorensen was in occupation of the farm and, true to his training, had registered under the Dairies, Cowsheds & Milkshops Order, 1885, as a milk producer.²⁶ Irrespective of events in Manchester, the invitation to York must have been tempting, as he could now expect to have within his immediate control both the production of milk and its distribution.

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Seebohm Rowntree's involvement with the affairs of the York Health and Housing Reform Association, which has been formed in 1901 to disseminate information about the problems of public health and to act as a pressure group, provided Sorensen with some of his early custom.²⁷ After it had become clear that the city council was reluctant to implement its own recommendation that there should be established in York a municipal depot for the supply of cheap milk to infants, similar to depots that were already in operation at St. Helens, in Liverpool and elsewhere, the Association went ahead and in 1903 opened a depot in its own name.²⁸ Milk was sterilized and bottled at premises in the city, but considerable publicity was given to the fact that the milk came in the first place from a single, carefully selected and well managed farm. In the event the York depot was closed in 1905, but not before it had done something to make the public aware of the White Rose dairy and of its links with the Association.²⁹

Among many visitors to Sorensen's farm in the early days was Dr. (later Sir) George Newman, who described what he had seen in *Bacteriology of Milk*, published in 1903.³⁰ The cows, which numbered about 50, were inspected once a month by a veterinary surgeon, 'who has authority to order the disposal of any unhealthy or even suspected animal'; they were fed 'scientifically', without recourse to brewers' grains 'or other unsuitable foods'; and were kept in scrupulously clean and well ventilated buildings.

24. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 3 Dec. 1948; Anon, 'A Pioneer in the Supply of Pure Milk', *Bulletin of the New Earswick Village Association*, January 1978, p. 3.
25. Registry of Deeds, Northallerton, Memorials of Deeds, Vol. 130, p. 684, 4 Ap. 1902. When Joseph Rowntree purchased the land it was occupied by W. J. Tebbitt as tenant. A map with the Memorial shows farm buildings surrounded by agricultural land. The subsequent development of New Earswick is discussed in L. E. Waddilove, *One Man's Vision*, London (1954). The earlier history of Sorensen's farm has not been elucidated. Although marked as Stud Farm on maps as late as c. 1900, no evidence has been found to indicate that it was in fact used for such a purpose at the time of its acquisition by Joseph Rowntree. The choice of the name White Rose may have been Sorensen's, as its use coincides with his arrival. His first priority after taking the farm was improved outbuildings. After 1908, by which time the Trustees had provided him with a new house as well as outbuildings, it became customary to refer to the house as Earswick Garth. The name of the dairy, however, was generally extended to the farm as a whole.
26. York City Archives, Acc. 157, 8/9. Sorensen's name appears under the year 1902 in a chronological sequence starting in 1886.
27. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1903; F. Lawson Dodd, *The Problem of the Milk Supply*, London (1904), pp. 57-8; *B.M.J.*, Vol. ii of 1903, p. 1657.
28. The background to the development of infant milk depots is discussed in G. F. McCleary, *The Early History of the Infant Welfare Movement*, London (1933). Events at York can be traced in the Council Minutes and in the local press (e.g. *Yorkshire Gazette*, May-June 1901).
29. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1903; *Local Handbook and Programme of Arrangements for the Twenty-seventh Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute*, York (1912), p. 68.
30. The account is on pp. 594-5. Newman's distinguished career in medicine is summarised in *B.M.J.*, 5 June 1948, p. 1112.

Before milking commenced, the udders of the cows were washed by milkers who were themselves required to 'wash before, and if necessary, during milking' and to wear overalls. The milk was filtered before being passed 'in a thin layer over a corrugated copper cylinder, inside which cold water and ice are passed, thus reducing the temperature in a few seconds to a point at which germ life cannot develop'. Some milk was bottled on the farm, but when sold unbottled was drawn 'by tap from a sealed can'. Had Newman seen a milking machine at work during his visit he would surely have remarked on its presence as a rarity: however, such a machine had been installed by 1910.³¹ Conditions such as these were not to be found on the majority of North Riding farms for many years to come, yet, as Newman pointed out, Sorensen's methods depended less on the outlay of considerable capital than on careful attention to routine daily hygiene. Sorensen himself preferred to praise his landlord: 'I may say that I had no ordinary landlord, inasmuch as he not only built for me a model cowhouse to my own design, but at considerable expense to himself had town water laid on to the farm a year or two before he required it for his own building schemes'.³²

No financial or similar accounts relating to the farm have been found, but Sorensen's business, to judge by scattered evidence, seems to have flourished in its early days. From three head in 1902, the milking herd increased first to 30 and then, by 1903, to 50.³³ As New Earswick developed, Sorensen found a market for milk on his own doorstep, though many of his customers continued to be in York.³⁴ Visitors to the dairy were convinced that what they saw was proof that good milk could be produced and sold at a price that yielded a reasonable profit to the farmer.³⁵ Certainly, within a year or two demand had exceeded the supply available. Sorensen's early success undoubtedly owed something to his landlord, something to favourable publicity, and much to his own skill. There is evidence also that he set his face against high profits.³⁶ As early as 1904, however, there were indications of problems to come.



In 1904 and again in 1905 Sorensen was to complain that his plans for the expansion of the business were being frustrated by the 'land question'.³⁷ He had taken the farm in the knowledge that its size would be bound to diminish as the estate was occupied gradually by houses. By January 1905 30 houses had been built and others were under construction, leading to the loss of at least ten of the farm's 120 or so productive acres.³⁸ Sorensen's complaint was not directed against his landlord, but concerned the difficulty experienced in trying to find additional land elsewhere. 'One farm had dilapidated buildings. Another with fair buildings had a bad water-supply; a third was too far from York. . . There was but one alternative: to check the effective demand by raising prices'.³⁹ Low to begin with, these had reached 3½d. and 4d. per quart (and usually 2d. per pint) by 1905, compared with the 3d. per quart normal in York at the time.⁴⁰ When he gave a public lecture in the city during 1905, Sorensen was to use it to emphasise the difficulties that were likely to

31. H. A. Macewen, *The Public Milk Supply*, London (1910), pp. 73-4.

32. C. W. Sorensen, 'Some Aspects of the Pure Milk Problem from Within', *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), p. 542.

33. *Ibid.*

34. These remarks are based principally on the recollections of those who knew the dairy between the wars.

35. *B.M.J.*, Vol. i of 1904, p. 49; *B.P.P.*, 1904, xxxii (Cd. 2210), evidence of A. W. Smyth.

36. See for example the remarks in *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905).

37. *Ibid.*; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 30 July 1904. Sorensen's views on the wider issue of landholding have not been elucidated, but his obituary notes a lifelong interest in 'land reform'. In 1905 he expressed a belief in the virtues of municipal ownership as a means of reducing the distribution costs of milk (*Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi 1905).

38. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 7 Jan. 1905, *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), p. 543.

39. *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), p. 543.

40. *B.M.J.* Vol. i of 1904, p. 49; *B.P.P.*, 1908 *Accounts & Papers*, cvii (Cd. 3864), p. 504.

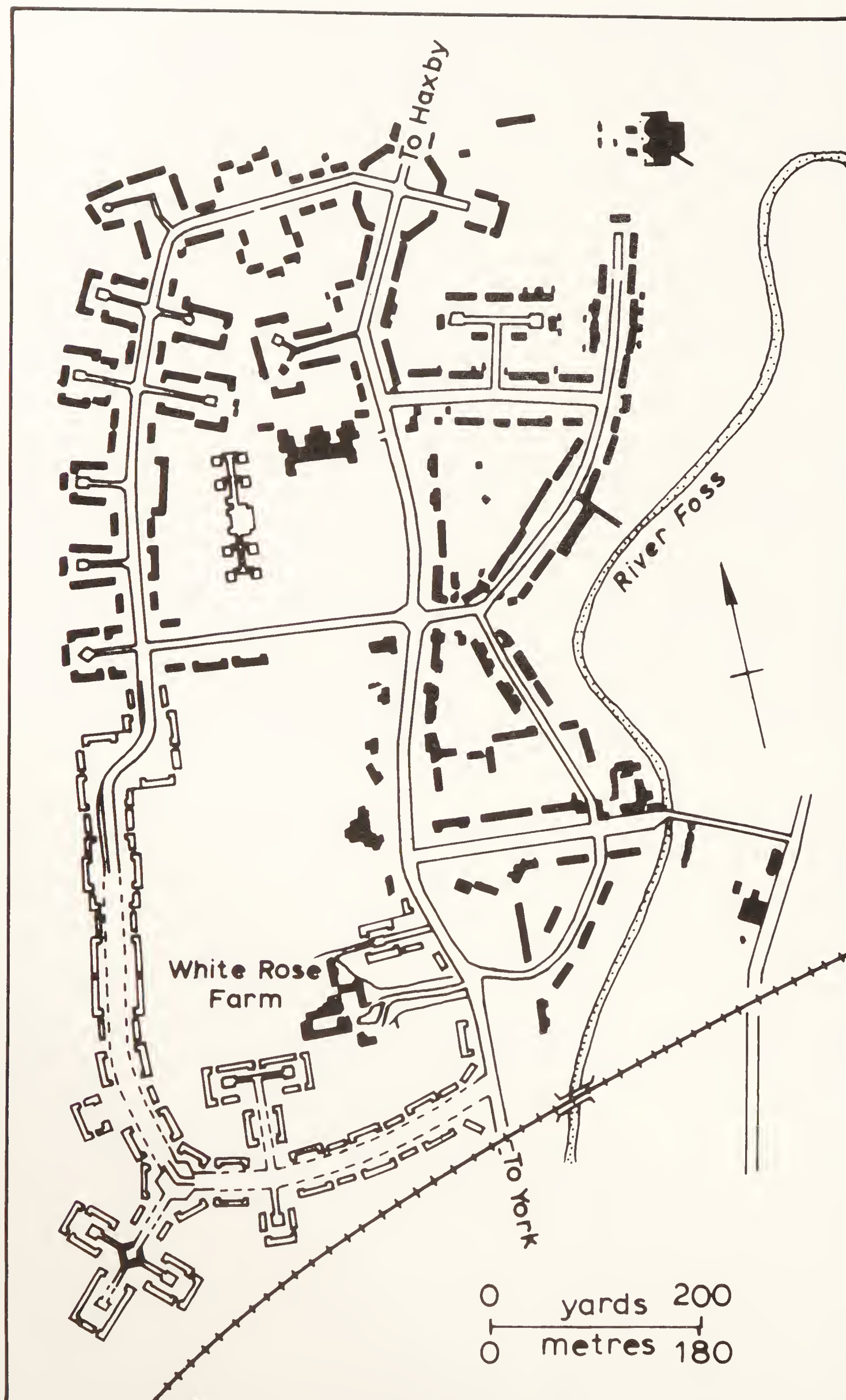


Fig. 2. By the mid 1930s the growth of New Earswick had brought houses to within a short distance of the White Rose dairy. The direction to be taken by subsequent development is shown in outline. Based on a map in *Town and Country Planning*, Vol. 3, March 1935 (W. L. Hare, 'New Earswick: the work of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust'), by permission of the Editor. The original is in the possession of the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, York.

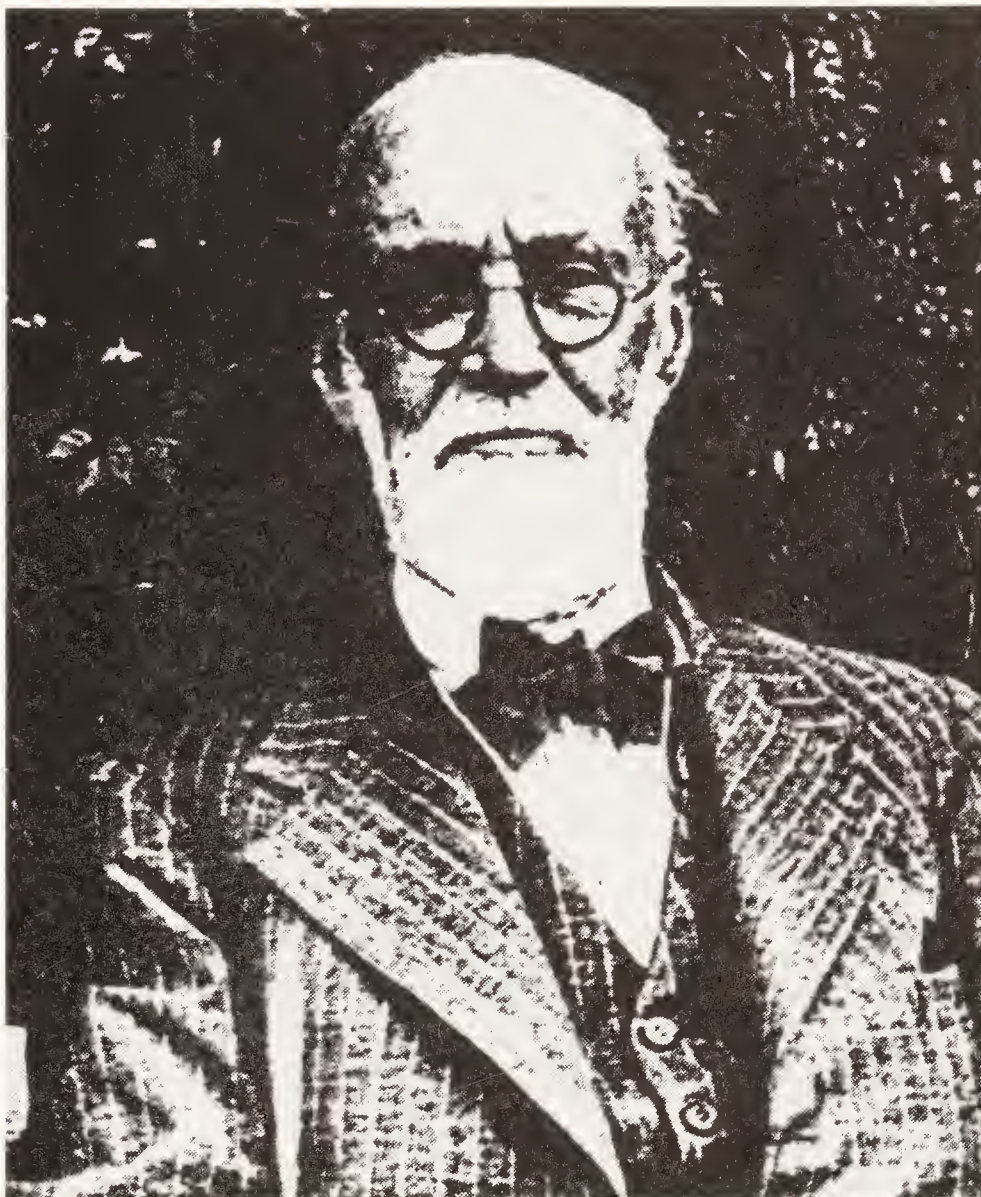


Plate I. C. W. Sorensen in old age. The photograph was taken in 1940, the year in which Sorensen retired from farming (Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. J. R. Ridges and the Chairman of the New Earswick Village Council).

face the improving dairy farmer on the edge of town: 'No progressive farmer will attempt to start a model dairy with old insanitary buildings; the ordinary suburban tenant under present conditions cannot afford to become his own landlord.'⁴¹ There was no ready solution in sight, for as suburban growth took place, so the price of land on the edge of York came increasingly to reflect its building value.

The problem was to remain with Sorensen for the remainder of his tenancy. From time to time, when the Joseph Rowntree Trust acquired additional land for its own purposes, Sorensen was allowed to rent some of it until it was needed, but his requirements were not always easily reconciled with those of a building programme which might demand that a street be extended in one direction rather than in some other, and thus consume what for Sorensen was particularly valuable land (Fig. 2). The Trustees, who did much to try to alleviate his difficulties, nevertheless acknowledged that their chief duty must be to pursue the development of New Earswick.⁴²

Limited acres, however, may have stimulated Sorensen's ingenuity, for he is remembered as an early convert to the practice of making and feeding silage.⁴³ Certainly, they did nothing to lower his standards. The dairy remained between the wars a model of cleanliness and efficiency.⁴⁴ And with a nice touch, of which perhaps few understood the significance, a new delivery vehicle for milk introduced in the later 1930s carried the slogan 'Pure Milk from Healthy Cows', a translation of the motto employed many years before by the Copenhagen Milk Supply Company.⁴⁵

41. *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), p. 542.

42. Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, Trustees' Minute Books, esp. 18 July 1922, 13 Ap. 1923; 8 June 1927.

43. Local Information.

44. Local information.

45. 'Sund Mælk fra sunder køer'. The inscription on Sorensen's vehicle read in full: 'Pure Clean Ice-Cooled Milk From Healthy Cows'

It is not easy to determine how far Sorensen's methods provided a stimulus to others, either locally or elsewhere, though it has been suggested that they were 'soon widely copied'.⁴⁶ Within Sorensen's own lifetime, it is true, farmers, milk-sellers and the general public alike were to become much more aware than hitherto of the dangers that lurked in diseased or unclean milk. But neither the process of education nor the legislative measures required to achieve clean milk could be completed quickly. According to one estimate, York alone would have required 100 dairies of the size of White Rose to provide it with milk in 1905.⁴⁷ A report on the city's milk supply published by the York Health and Housing Reform Association in 1908 suggests that progress had been slow in the previous three years.⁴⁸ In a reference to the administrative county as a whole, the M.O.H. for the North Riding was to complain, many years later, that 'the need for clean milk is as urgent as ever'.⁴⁹

One or two interesting developments can nevertheless be traced, perhaps not to Sorensen personally, but rather to the influence of the Copenhagen Milk Supply Company. Thus, for example, the Wensleydale Pure Milk Society was established in 1905 'to select milk from farms whose methods were absolutely clean in regard to milking'.⁵⁰ Its founders had visited Busck's company before embarking on their own venture.⁵¹ Like the White Rose dairy, the Wensleydale scheme owed much to Quaker enterprise and in particular to members of the Society of Friends in York.⁵² For a time the Wensleydale Pure Milk Society shared the services of an official with the Brandsby Agricultural Trading Association, whose printed contracts for the supply of milk c.1906 similarly appear to owe something to the Danish company.⁵³ Detailed work on the history of dairy farming in north Yorkshire in the years before 1914 might reveal further examples of this kind. But, on the whole, ventures such as these seem to have attracted attention simply because they were uncommon.

When Sorensen retired in 1940, White Rose was worked for a time in association with another farm nearby. By 1943 the farm buildings were said to be in poor condition and when the farmhouse itself became vacant c.1948, the Trustees decided to adapt it for use as a home for the elderly. By this time too further building was anticipated on what remained of the original farm.⁵⁴

Few tangible reminders of the White Rose dairy now exist, other than a converted farmhouse, a street name or two and a few fields. Sorensen deserves to be remembered,

46. *Bulletin New Earswick Village Association*, Jan. 1978.

47. *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), p. 545.

48. *The Milk Supply of York*, York (1908).

49. *Report of the M.O.H. North Riding of Yorkshire for 1925*, North Riding County Council Minutes, xii (1925-1928), p. 572. Similar comments were to recur throughout the 1930s. The County M.O.H. reports were seen at the North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton.

50. There is an interesting discussion of the Wensleydale Society at the time of its inception in *Journ. Roy. San. Inst.*, xxvi (1905), pp. 544-6. Further details will be found in Public Record Office BT31/32202; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 19 Aug. 1905; *Yorkshire Herald*, 1 Nov. 1912.

51. J. Nugent Harris, 'The Organisation of the Milk Supply', *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, xvi (1910), p.811.

52. Members of the Gurney, Pease and Rowntree families appear as shareholders in BT31/32202. Philip Burtt, a founder member of the Wensleydale company, was a prominent member of the Society of Friends in York at this time (*Yorkshire Gazette*, 17 Jan., 1914). Although he never became a member, Sorensen evidently found himself in sympathy with the principles of the Society of Friends, for both he and Beatrice Drew Sorensen, his wife (d. 1968), are interred in the Friends Burial Ground, Heslington Road, York. I owe thanks to Tabitha Driver, of the Library of the Society of Friends, London, and to Dr. M. J. A. Thompson and Mrs. M. Atkinson, both of York, for helping me to explore the possibility that Sorensen himself may have been a member of the Society of Friends.

53. These comments are based on a typescript history of B.A.T.A., by courtesy of Mr. F. Carter, of Norton.

54. Waddilove, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Trustees' Minute Books, 3 July 1939, 8 July 1940. 22 Nov. 1943. Sorensen's farmhouse is incorporated within the building now known as The Garth.

however, as one of a small group of pioneers.⁵⁵ It was not their fault if others did not always see things as they did.



I have received assistance from many people in the preparation of this paper. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Robin Guthrie for permission to consult the Minute Books of the Joseph Rowntree Trust and also to see maps in the possession of the Trustees. Dr. M. J. A. Thompson allowed me to see the Minute Books of the York Medical Society and provided other information also. The good offices of Mrs. A. Jackson put me in touch with Mrs. J. R. Ridges and, indirectly, with the *Yorkshire Evening Press*, whose subsequent note about Sorensen brought me information from Mr. M. Coning, Mrs. J. Eastwood, Mrs. G. Brown, Mrs. V. Muir, Mrs. B. Murphy, and Mr. G. H. Kent. Birgitte Hvidt, of the Rigsbibliotekarembetet, Copenhagen, drew my attention to sources of information about Gunni Busck. Ruth Stoddart of the National Archives of New Zealand, and Janet McIntyre, of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, helped me with Sorensen's activities in that country. Other sources of information are acknowledged in the text. The maps were drawn in the Department of Geography, University of Hull.

55. An element of uncertainty remains as to whether Sorensen became a British subject. Apparently he did not apply to change his status as a Danish subject during his time in New Zealand. Moreover, the index volumes, *Certificates of Naturalization Granted by the Secretary of State*, London (1908 *et seq*), contain no grant of British nationality in the name of Carl Wilfred Sorensen during the years covered by their contents, which end in 1930. Beyond this, however, the matter has not been pursued.

HEATHER LAWRENCE 1934 - 1984

It is with much regret that I have to record the sudden death on 17th October 1984 of Heather Lawrence, for many years a member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and a frequent visitor to Claremont. She was instrumental in making the first listing of the map collections at Claremont, which formed the basis of the present catalogue.

The daughter of the Wakefield auctioneer John Kilburn, Heather's interests were many and varied, and were all carried out with characteristic thoroughness. In 1966 she was a founder member and Honorary Secretary of the West Yorkshire Antique Collectors' Society. During 1974 she had published by David & Charles her definitive work on the Yorkshire pottery industry *Yorkshire Pots and Potteries*, which included the results of her excavations on the spoil heap sites of some of the local potteries. When, in 1977, Wakefield Historical Publications was founded Heather was an obvious and welcome founder member. Her subsequent work on regional history publishing became of some significance, and the group published eighteen volumes in the seven years of her association with it. A number of the volumes produced benefited from Heather's skill as an editor, and many more from her flair for book design. Amongst all of this Heather found time to be the co-author of yet another definitive work, published in 1979, this time on the 16th-century cartographer, Christopher Saxton. This established her as a national authority on early maps and mapmakers, and led to speaking engagements at international cartographic conferences as well as becoming a regular contributor to a national cartographic journal. At the time of her death pioneering work was well advanced on major studies of John Norden and John Speed, which included research into not only 16th and 17th-century cartography but also engraving, printing and publishing. Her untimely death denies, at least for the time being, the world of cartographic study the results of this research. It has been recorded elsewhere that during this time Heather became a regular and welcome visitor to the British Library map department, where her advice was often sought and her skills at rooting out little-known facts was appreciated. Heather spent many years compiling a card index of manuscript maps of Yorkshire which will prove invaluable to future scholars.

On a more provincial level Heather retained her close links with local societies and from 1980 to 1983 was President of Wakefield Historical Society, whilst at the same period she was Chairman of the West Yorkshire Antique Collectors' Society. As ever, she brought her considerable talents to these offices and inspired those around her to ensure that the Societies prospered and remained active. Heather was, during this time, librarian and archivist to the Society of Friends, a representative on the Archive Advisory Council for West Yorkshire, and was a founder member of the Gissing Trust which was instrumental in saving George Gissing's birthplace in Wakefield.

All of the above gives some idea of the energy which Heather possessed, but it does not indicate the real delight of knowing her as a friend, which was rewarding beyond measure. Her knowledge and interest in book production was perhaps used to her own greatest satisfaction in the advice and practical assistance she was able to offer her son Simon when he established a private hand-printing press and prepared his fine books of wood engravings.

Of Heather's many-faceted life we must recall one of the brightest of these facets—her family—husband Brian and children Simon, Penny and Toby. Indeed, amongst Heather's most enduring legacies will be her published research which students will no doubt use for years to come, but to her friends our most lasting memory which we will treasure will be the warmth and enthusiasm of her friendship.

RICHARD KNOWLES.

AN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY INDEX

EDITED BY MARGARET SMITH

The following list is an index to items relating to industrial history to be found in the archives of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Members of the Society's Industrial History Section, including Mr. and Mrs. N. Moss and Mr. and Mrs. K. Gurney, checked the archives up to 1978. There was then a gap of four years before the work could be resumed by checking accessions made between 1979 and 1982 and editing all the entries.

The definition of industrial history used is a wide one and entries have been included which some may say would not be historical because too recent or not industrial because too old. The dates of entries range from 1236 to 1973. I have erred on the side of including anything which could be of interest to the industrial historian.

A study of the list will show that the Society's archives contain a wealth of information which is available to all. I should like to thank the staff of the archives and library, in particular the Archivist, Mrs. S. Thomas, for their help to me in compiling this index.

ALUM WORKS

- Computation of purchase of lands for alum works, manors of Mulgrave and Seaton, 1767. DD 49/BRA 301
Essay on the Guisboro' Alum Works. W. A. Atkinson, Knaresborough, 1909. MS 745a
Kettleness Alum Works accounts. 1769. DD40

APPRENTICESHIP

- Bond in the penalty of £400. Sir Thomas Slingsby for Savile Slingsby's apprenticeship, fee payable to Theodorus Huyghens, merchant of Amsterdam. 1719. DD 148/97
Indenture of Matthew Wentworth, apprentice of Hopton Hall and Richard Brook, a poor apprentice to Wm. Hepworth of Bellstring Lane, Kirkheaton, to learn weaving and cloth making for 8 years. 1657. DD 70/64
Indenture of John Morton of Bradford, barber to Robert Chamberlain of Bradford, Combmaker. 1712. DD43/BRA 183.
Indenture of Nerriah Murgatroyd of Gildersome to James Mortimer to learn the art of broadclothmaking. 1735. MD 288
Indenture of Sarah Coleman of Hertingfordbury (Herts) to Elizabeth Norman, staymaker of Hatfield (Herts) to learn staymaking. 1810. MD288

BREWING

- Patent for improvements in brewing and in brewing apparatus, granted to Joshua Crockford of Southampton Place, Middlesex. (with seal). 1852. MD 418/4

BRICK MAKING

- Notes on brick and tile making, W. A. Atkinson, Knaresborough. 1908. MS 745a

BRIDGES

- Agreement to repair Calis Bridge and enlarge by making another arch. 1774. DD 99/B2/149
Estimates for the repair of bridge in wood and stone at Meatly Bottom over the River Calder in the township of Norland. 1757. MS 642
Plan for an addition to Gisburn Mill Bridge. 19th Cent. MD 335 Map 112
Sale of a plot of land to Manchester and Leeds Railway Company for making a road bridge. 1838. DD 99/B13/15

BRUSH MAKING

- Essay on brush making, W. A. Atkinson, Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a

CANALS

Aire and Calder Navigation

- Aire and Calder Navigation Act (hand written copy). 1774. MS 381(dd)
 Carriage rates from Leeds and Wakefield, 1773 and extension to Halifax, 1793. DD 70/116
 Documents relating to the proposed Ship Canal for the West Riding, the Aire and Calder Navigation, with plan of the Calder by John Smeaton. 1757. MS 865
 Plan of the Aire and Calder Navigation from Wakefield to Salterhebble. 1740/41. MS 440
 Table of tonnage re goods passing the Rivers Aire and Calder. 1773. DD49/BRA 301

Barnsley Canal

- Documents relating to the construction of the Barnsley and Calder and Hebble Canals, with tributaries; comprising briefs, petitions, plans, parliamentary proceedings etc. 1773-1793. DD70/116
 Proposed account for a survey. 1794. MD 272/1

Basingstoke Canal

- Plan of the intended canal from Basingstoke to the River Wey. (Printed). 18th Cent. (Library) 20 H/3

Calder and Hebble Navigation

- Documents relating to the construction of the Barnsley and Calder and Hebble Canals with tributaries; comprising briefs, petitions, plans, parliamentary proceedings etc. 1773-1793. DD 70/116
 Legal Papers, including a copy of the judge's summing-up re a fire in the Company's warehouse. 1835. MD 323/324
 Shares in the Calder and Hebble Navigation signed by nine of the Commissioners. 18th Cent. DD80

Chester

- Plan of the canal from Chester to Middlewich. (Printed). 1771. (Library) 20H/6

Chesterfield

- Plan of the intended navigable canal from Chesterfield to the River Trent near Stockwith. (Printed). 1769. (Library) 20L/20

Douglas Navigation

- Advertisement for mortgage money secured on tolls of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal and Douglas Navigation. 18th Cent. MD 317

Knaresborough Canal

- A report on the proposed canal. Thomas Telford. 1818. DD 56/B3

Leeds and Liverpool Canal

- Advertisement for mortgage money secured on tolls of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal and Douglas Navigation. 18th Cent. MD 317
 Papers relating to the Skipton to Holm Bridge section. 1770-1771. DD 121/82
 Plan of the canal. (Printed). n.d. (Library) 20/L

Leeds and Selby Canal

- Considerations on the utility and advantages of a navigable canal from Leeds to Selby. 1773. DD49/BRA 301
 Plan of the intended navigable canal from Leeds to Selby. (Printed). 18th Cent. DD 121/87/5

Market Weighton Canal

- Act for drainage and making a canal from Market Weighton to the River Humber. 1772. DD56/Q1
 Award of Commissioners for drainage and navigation. 1800. DD56/Q1
 Proposed drainage and navigation, plans showing Everingham and Harswell Becks. (Printed). 1772. DD56/K

River Dun Navigation

- Agreement for navigation, Holmstile, Doncaster to Barnby Dun. 1739. DD116

Rochdale Canal

- Plan of proposed Rochdale Canal from Manchester to Halifax and Coln. (Printed). 18th Cent. (Library) 20H/50
 Plan showing the line of the proposed Rochdale Canal from Sowerby to Manchester. (Printed). 1791. (Library) 20H/28

Settle Canal

- Papers re Settle to Marton Canal; comprising a list of opposers, map, letters, note of proposals. c1774. MD 335/Box17/7
 Plan of proposed canal from Parkfoot Bridge near Ingleton to Settle showing length, rise and fall, position of locks, buildings, hills etc. 1780. MS 1186

Stockton Canal

- Intended plan of a navigable canal between Stockton by Darlington to Winstone in bishopric of Durham. (Printed). 1768. (Library) 20H/52

CANDLE MAKING

- Essay on G. H. Elgar's Phoenix Candle works, Scarborough. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1909. MS 745a

CLOCK MAKING

- Brief notes on Leeds clockmaking. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1910. *MS 745a*
 Details of old York clockmakers (17-19th Cent.), T. P. Cooper (compiler). York. c1900. *MS 636*

COAL

- Valuation of iron ore and coal at Birthwaite. 1809. *DD 70/137*

COLLIERIES see *MINES—Coal***COOPERAGE**

- Extensive notes with illustrations on Yeardley's Cooperage at Tadcaster. W. A. Atkinson, Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*

COPPER WORKS

- Notes on Copper Works. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*

CORN MILLS

- Notes on Corn Mills. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*

Barnsley

- Details of corn mills along the proposed route of the proposed canal from the River Calder to Barnsley. 1793. *DD 70/116*

- Marriage settlement concerning lands in Barnsley and a new erection used as a steam corn mill, with engine house etc. at Scholes Croft, Barnsley. 1824. *DD 120/BRA 898*

Flockton

- Deeds etc. relating to Flockton corn mill. 1652-1669. *DD 70/42*

Hampsthwaite

- Indenture for the great corn mill standing in the water or deep called Nidd, called Hampsthwaite Mill. 1675. *DD 25/2*

Heckmondwike

- Sale catalogue of the corn mill at Heckmondwike. (Printed). 1828. (Library) *48A 144*

Pool

- Lease by Walter Fawkes of a fulling, corn mill and paper mill 'lately erected' known as Pool Walk Mill. 1793. *DD 161/3A/1*

Wadsworth

- Lease and various deeds for Wadsworth Mills (corn and fulling). 17th Cent. *DD 80*

see also **MILLS; WATER MILLS**

COTTON MILLS

- Agreement between Thos. Parker and J. A. Busfield and Wm. Willett re Marley cotton mill near Bingley following arbitration for loss or damage caused by works restricting water flow to the mill. 1794. *MD 290/2*

- Agreement to build High Cotton Mill at Skipton and a waterwheel; also elevation and plan, 1784. *DD 121/51/75-76*

- Counterpart lease - Wm. Foster and others to Messrs. Gaukrogers - re Newbridge Cotton Mill, Heptonstall. 1848. *DD 99/B5/77*

CUTLERY WORKS

- Plan and conditions of scale of Mappins Bros., Queen's Cutlery Works, Bakers Hill and Little Pond Street, Sheffield. 1884. *DD 58/BRA 518*

- Plan and conditions of sale of shop in occupation of Mr. Greenstreet, Cutlery Factor. Property is 129 Pond Street, Sheffield. 1876. *DD 58/BRA 518*

DOCKS

- Plan of Hull port and docks. (Printed). 1872. (Library) *20H/11*

DRAINAGE

- A Commission of Sewers for the limits of Pickering Lith in the North Riding. 1637. *MD 125*

- A Commission of Sewers for the North Riding of Yorkshire. 1615. *MD 125*

- Hadfield Chace. Plan of "a true and perfect" plot surveyed by Josias Acerlebout, including drainage. 1630. *DD 47/BRA 273*

- Marshland warping in the parishes of Whitgift and Snaith, Adlingfleet, Thorne, Hatfield, Doncaster

etc. Various papers including plans, maps, assessments, surveys and extracts from sessions of sewers for the level of Hatfield Chase. 1649-1896. MS 561(a-h)

Sessions of Sewers at Hutton Bushell, 1638. MD 125

Specification for a new sluice near the outfall of the River Trent in Adlingfleet township, 18th cent. MS 582

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY

Proposed lease of Pool Old Mill to W. P. Theermann & Co., Manchester, to provide electricity for Farnley Hall. 1904. DD 161/3A/10

ELECTRIC LIGHTING

Specification for the installation of electric lighting at Spofforth Hall. 1915. DD 170/59

ENGINEERING WORKS

Aerial photographs of R. W. Crabtree & Sons Ltd., engineering works. c 1950. MD 408

Catalogue of metal decorating presses and feeders manufactured by R. W. Crabtree & Sons Ltd., c 1950. MD 408

Papers and press cuttings relating to R. W. Crabtree & Sons, Water Lane, Leeds, engineers and printing press manufacturers. 1907-1965 (photocopies) MS 1311

FISHING

Notes on fishing. W. A. Atkinson, Knaresborough. 1908. MS 745a

FOUNDRIES

Account of a visit to Chadwick's Brass Foundry, Dewsbury Road, Leeds. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1909. (Illustrated) MS 745a

Papers and deeds relating to the Steander Foundry, East Street, Leeds. 1815-1929. DD 180

FULLING MILLS

Bramley

Title deeds of Whitecote or Stephenson's Mills in Bramley. Consisting of two fulling mills, one water cornmill, kiln, and dwelling house. 1613-1719. DD 12/I/15 Nos. 1-18

Brighouse

Conveyance between Thos. Pilkington to John Thornhill for a water cornmill and fulling mill called Brighouse Mills. 1608. DD 12/II/39

Indenture re one walke or fulling mill in Brighouse, 1583. DD 36/BRA 129a

Indenture for a water mill with right to erect a fulling mill. Brighouse and Shypden Mills. 1478. DD 12/II/22/2

Burley

Letters patent for a fulling mill at Burley. 1545. DD 12/I/31

Heptonstall

Mortgage on two fulling mills at Lee, Heptonstall. 1700-1. DD 99/B5/51

Knaresborough

Deeds, leases and assignments concerning corn mills and fulling mills in Knaresborough. 1568-1634. DD 56/B2

Leeds

Leeds Manor Court—two admittances to Cowper or Swallow fulling mill. 1697 and 1715. MD 66

North Stainley

Deeds relating to a fulling mill at North Stainley. 1700-10. DD 115/12/1

Pool

Lease by Walter Fawkes of a fulling, corn mill and paper mill known as Pool Walk Mill. 1793. DD 161/3A/1

Sowerby

Indenture re fulling mill and house at Sowerby. 1717. DD 99/B20/34

Stansfield

Grant from Henry Naylor of Burnstubb, Ayringden to Henry Naylor his son; including a water cornmill and a fulling or walke mill in Stansfield. 1627. DD 99/B22/11

Wadsworth

Lease and various deeds for Wadsworth Mills (corn and fulling). 17th Cent. DD 80

GAS

- Account for the installation of acetylene gas at Agents House, Leathley. 1903. *DD 161/19C/12*
 Correspondence, plans etc for the installation of a gas main through Stockeld Park. 1930. *DD 170/66*
 Estimates for the installation of acetylene gas lighting at Farnley Hall. 1901. *DD 161/19C/1c*
 List of the gas rates for Knaresborough. Note to Sir Thomas Slingsby. 1833. *DD 56/B3*
 Selby Gas Company accounts and other administrative papers re the lighting of Selby streets. 1832-60. *MS 911*

GLASS MAKING

- Papers relating to the Crown Glass Houses and the Broad Glass Houses, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1823-4. *DD 12/II/36*

HERB DISTILLING

- Notes on herb growing and distilling at Mill Green, Leeds. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1916. *MS 745a*

INDUSTRY

- Notes on industries and industrial sites in Furness and North West Lancashire: W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*

IRONWORKING

- Armitage family deeds re iron smelting and coal mining at Farnley and Shipley, including smithy account books. 1568-82. *MD 279*
 Conversion of Darton iron blast furnaces to a vitriol factory. 1825. *DD 70/137*
 Conveyance of share in Ironworks - two forges (Bentley Forges) in Tankersley and Penistone. 1688. *MD 82/3*
 Grant by William Denton to James Denton of Darton of a messuage called Overblomehouse and a workshop called a Smithyhouse. 1591. *DD 70/48*
 Indenture of a 12 year lease for a messuage, smithy etc. at Menston between Robert Reems and Robert Radcliff. 1505. *DD 12/1/2/138*
 Lease and re-lease between George and Matthew Wentworth re iron smithies situated at Cawthorne (with land etc.) 1613 and 1630. *DD 70/54*
 Lease of Cawthorne Smithies with watercourses, tools and inventory. 1608. *DD 70/56*
 Lease of ironworks called Bretton Furnace. 1720. *DD 70/84*
 Lease of watercourse and iron smithies at Bretton, Yorkshire, between Francis Savile and Matthew Wentworth. 1588. *DD 70/132*
 Lease on blacksmith's shop at North Stainley. 1738. *DD 115/10*
 Making of tyres or hoops for cart wheels, a description of a smithy at work in Arkendale, W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. *MS 745a*
 Notes on iron mining and iron and steel manufacture, W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*
 Notes on the North Lonsdale Ironworks. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. *MS 745a*
 Remarks on proposals for erecting blast furnaces at Swawell. 1795. *DD 70/140*
 Two parts of a fine re watermill for grain, two fulling mills, furnace and land in Bramley. 1711. *DD 12/I/15*
 Valuation of a forge in Sowerby Forest, owned by Earl Warren. 1314. *DD 99/B20/1*
 Valuation of iron ore and coal at Birthwaite. 1809. *DD 70/137*

see also MINES-Iron

JET

- Essay on jet and jet mining at Great Broughton in Cleveland. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1910. *MS 745a*

KILNS

- Deeds of Milnthorpe Mill, Sedburgh, a malt and water corn mill with drying kiln. 1742-89. *DD 60/M/5-19*
 Deeds of a water corn mill and drying kiln at Pestall Holme, Sedburgh. 1736-39. *DD 60/M/2-4*
 Indenture for a water corn mill and drying kiln at Erringden, Halifax called Hoo Hole Mill. 1799. *DD 99/B2/159*
 Lease of site of property including a kiln formerly belonging to St. Robert's Friary, York. 1584. *DD 148/56*

Title deeds of Whitecote or Stephenson mills in Bramley. Consists of two fulling mills, one water corn mill, kiln and dwelling house. 1613-1719. DD 12/I/15 Nos. 1-18

LEAD

Articles on the lead mills at Pateley Bridge. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a
Notes on the Craven Lead Works. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a

see also MINES-Lead

LIME BURNING

Notes on Lime burning. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. MS 745a

LOCOMOTIVE WORKS

Plans of John Fowler's Steam Plough and Locomotive Works, Hunslet, Leeds. 1909-1973. DD 196/4-30

MALT MILLS

Account of a malt mill at Chapel Allerton, Leeds. 1682. MS 546
Deeds of Milnthrop Mill, Sedburgh, a water corn and malt mill and drying kiln. 1742-89. DD 60/M/5-19
Mortgage of a malt mill at Lee, Heptonstall. 1700-1. DD 99/B5/51

MILL DAMS

Otley

Inquisitions relating to the repair of Doles of Otley Milne dam. 1677-1741. DD 161/10

Pool

Letters and papers relating to Pool Mill dam. 1799-1857. DD 161/3B/1-11
Papers relating to the bursting of the dam at Pool. 1873-6. DD 161/3D/1-12
Steward's vouchers relating to work on Pool Dam. 1809-11 DD 161/3C/1-12

Wakefield

Agreement for the repair and maintenance of Wakefield Mill Dam. 1664. MS 865
Decree for Wakefield Mill Dam. 1662. MS 508 pp 21-8
Indenture and agreement for the repair of Wakefield Mill Dam. 1570-1. MD 149/B2

MILLS

Article on the probable origin of soke mills. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. In two parts. 1904 and 1911. MS 745a

List of mills in England and Wales sold by contractors, with values. 1609. MD 363/111/D

Appleton-le-Moors

Lease of a mill at Appleton-le-Moors. 1236. DD 53/III/118

Bradford

Manningham Mills and their founder. Reprint from *Bradford Observer* February 6 1889 (photocopy). MS 1188

Brighouse

Deeds relating to Brighouse Mills in Rastrick. 1478-1600. DD 12/II/22/1-16
Plan of Brighouse Mills. 1808. DD 12/II/30/35

Calverley

Plan and elevation for proposed mill at Calverley. nd. DD 12/I/45

Copley

Legal documents, specifications and costings for demolishing and rebuilding Copley Mills. 1837. DD 125/10

Grantley

Lease of Grantley Mill with lands and tenement for one year. 1748. DD 53/I/47
Re-lease of a house called Grantley Mill with lands and tenements. 1714. DD 53/I/44

Harden

Papers relating to a dispute concerning water rights at Low Mill weir at Harden. 1876. MD 290/7

Hellifield

John Abbotson's case concerning the dispute of ownership of Hellifield Mill. 1748. DD 60/F3

Holbeck

Agreement to purchase Trafalgar Mills and Perseverance Mills, Meadow Lane, Holbeck, Leeds, with shafting and going gear. 1873. DD 126/BRA 898

Hunsingore

Grant of a mill, rectory and lands at Hunsingore to Henry Goodricke. 1545. DD 59

Knaresborough

- An account of the mills at Knaresborough. 1623-28. DD 56/JI/4
 Agreements and leases for Knaresborough mills. 1558-1698. DD 56/B2
 List of all the King's mills in the manor of Knaresborough, and other men's mills in the precincts or within three miles of the town. 1607. DD 56/B2

Moor Monkton

- Title deeds to various meesuges, mills and land in Moor Monkton, Red House and Scagglethorpe. Property in the Slingsby estate formerly belonging to the Ughtred and Fairfax families. 1521-99. DD 56/G3

Otley

- Remarks on repairs to Otley Mill. 1754. DD 161/14/8

Pannal

- Sale of Pannall Mill for £40. 1610. MD 352

Pool

- Lease of Pool Mill to John Milthorp of Pool. 1852. DD 161/3A/4
 Lease of Pool Mills to Wm. Sawden, butcher of Stanningley. 1873. DD 161/3A/5-6

Selby

- Letters patent granting reversion of Selby Mills to Leonard Beckwith Esq. 1542. DD 56/Deeds/1

Sessay

- Deed for two parts of mills in Sessay. 1283. MD 335. Millar 41

Yeadon

- Bankruptcy sale catalogue with details of all fixtures, fittings and machinery of Banksfield Mills, Yeadon. 1893. (Library) 48 B 134
 Rentals for mills in Yeadon (with Esholt and Calverley). 1691-94. MS 527

see also CORN MILLS; COTTON MILLS; FULLING MILLS; MALT MILLS; PAPER MILLS; WATER MILLS.

MINES—Calamine

- Accounts and papers of the calamine mines at Malham. 1793-7. MS 335 Box 13
 Correspondence, accounts, plan etc of the calamine mines at Malham. 1795-1813. MS 335 Box 17/9
 Letters from the Cheadle Brass Company to Lord Ribblesdale re possibility of calamine, quality etc. 1795-1815. MS 335 Box 17/11

MINES—Coal

- A section of coals, shales, iron mines in strata bored and sunken in different places in Earl Fitzwilliam's estate and Lord Wharnccliffe's estate. G. L. Steers. 1845. MS 516

Bargh

- Map of the Manor of Bargh showing partially enclosed fields and coal workings and other details. 1697. MD 340

Barugh

- Indenture between Sir J. Wentworth and Anthony Webster for lease of land including Barugh coal mine. 1699. DD 70/63

Clayton

- Lease of coal mine from Richard Allott to John Woodhead of Clayton. 1659. DD 70/60

Cleckheaton

- Deeds relating to transfer of land, coal mines and premises at Oldfield Nook, Cleckheaton. 1845-99. MD 220

Cumberworth-Nether

- Lease of mine on Cumberworth Moor. 1618. DD 70/83

Darton

- Lease of coal mine at Keirsforth Hill, Darton. 1693. DD 57/12

Dewsbury

- Lease of mines between Richard Kennet Dawson of Frickley Hall and John Haigh and Joseph Gott of Dewsbury. 1823. DD 125/12

Farnley

- Armitage family deeds re iron smelting and coal mining Farnley and Shipley, including smithy account books. 1568-82. MD 279

Flockton

- Indenture between Abigail Rhodes of Flockton and Thomas Bedford of one farm in Flockton with rights to mine iron ore and convert timber to charcoal, mine coal and quarry stone for 21 years at £5.15.0d p.a. 1740 DD 70/138

Fountains Fell

File of accounts and letters re Fountains Fell Colliery near Malham. 1807-12. MD 335 Box 17/10

Ingleton

Agreement for a lease re coal mining (underground or overground) at Ingleton. 1757. DD 123/1/17

Five leases of mines at or near Ingleton. 1709-43. DD 123/1, 6, 11, 12, 15

Statement showing title to mines at Ingleton from original grant by Lords of the manor of Ingleton, with notes. 1648 and c 1863. DD 123/69

Lower Ragill

Lease of Lower Ragill coal mine. 1757. DD 123/18

Middleton Main

Leases between Baron Playfair of St. Andrews, J. W. Morgan, P. J. Waldron and Herbert Thelluson and the Middleton Main Colliery Company. 1902. DD 132/6/4

Oldham

Accounts for coal mines in Oldham, Lancs. 18th Cent. MD 355 Oversize Vol. 6

Rawmarsh

Lease of a colliery at Rawmarsh between John Kent and others and Richard Bingley. 1755 MD 82/5

Raygill

Lease of Raygill Colliery. 1788. DD 123/20

Ripon

Lease of coal mines in the Manor of Ripon. Launcelot, Archbishop of York to John Ingilby of Ripley. 1727. DD 25/2

Shipley

Armitage family deeds re iron smelting and coal mining at Farnley and Shipley including smithy accounts books. 1568-82. MD 279

Temple Newsam

Inventory of the contents of Temple Newsam, Leeds, including a farm and colliery, belonging to Rt. Hon. Frances, Viscountess Irwin. 1808. DD 54/BRA 369

Wakefield

Rents of collieries in the Wakefield area. 1775. MD 272/1

Woodhall Moor

Letters and vouchers relating to a colliery on Woodhall Moor. 1739. DD 5 Box 35/1

MINES-Iron

Accounts relating to the mining of iron stone at Kexborough and Hoyland. c 1805. DD 70/140

Bond and obligation for a lease to mine iron ore at Emley Woodhouse. 1575. DD 70/32

Essay on the Iron Ores and Iron Mines of Cleveland. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1910. MS 745a

Essay on the Iron Mines near Lundale and Dalton-in-Furness, W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a

Lease of Ironstone mine in Woodhouse-in-Emley. 1556. DD 70/99

Indenture between Abigail Rhodes of Flockton and Thomas Bedford of one farm in Flockton with rights to mine iron ore and convert timber to charcoal, mine coal and quarry stone for 21 years at £5.15.0d p.a. 1740. DD 70/138

Notes on iron mining and iron and steel manufacture. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. MS 745a

A section of coals, shales, iron mines in strata bored and sunken in different places in Earl Fitzwilliam's Estate and Lord Wharnccliffe's Estate. G. L. Steers. 1845. MS 516

MINES-Jet

Essay on Jet and Jet mining at Great Broughton in Cleveland. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1910. MS 745a

MINES—Lead

Agreement and charges for working lead mines at Haw Park, Skipton. 1725. DD 121/79

Essay on Lead Mining districts of England and Wales. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1910. MS 745a

Essay on the Valley Scar Lead Mines on Middlesmoor, with drawings. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a

MINES—Unspecified

Indenture re mines (of whatever kind) on Middleton Fells, Middleton Quernhow, Yorkshire. 1695. DD 25/3

Value of mines at Seaton and Mulgrave. Computations for purchase of land for alum works. 1767. DD 49/BRA 301

OIL ENGINE

- Blueprint for a Hornsby Oil Engine for John Foster and Sons. 1919. DD 170/113
 Specification, running and maintenance instructions for Tangye type 'AA' oil engine. 1916. DD 161/20F/3

PAPER MILLS

East Morton

- Notes, papers, maps and plans relating to the Sunny Dale paper mill, East Morton. 1838-83. Collected by G. Hollingshead. 1978. (photocopies) MS 1284

Luddenden

- Stay of Chancery proceedings (William Foster and Richard Bracken) re building of a reservoir to Bracken's paper mill at Luddenden, Yorkshire, nd. DD 99/B11/3

Pool

- Lease for 42 years by Walter Fawkes of a fulling, corn mill and paper mill known as Pool Walk Mill. 1793. DD 161/3A/1
 Lease of South End of Pool Walk to John Jowitt, paper maker of Greetland. 1799. DD 161/3A/2
 Lease of Pool Walk Mills to Michael Nicholson, paper maker of Pool. 1834. DD 161/3A/3

Soyland

- Estate Agent's details of Soyland Paper Mill, Soyland, near Halifax, including mill buildings, machinery equipment, engines etc. 1882. (Library) 48A 133

PATENTS

- Patents for improvements in brewing and in brewing apparatus, granted to Joshua Crockford of Southampton Place, Middlesex. (with seal). 1852. MD 418/4
 Letters patent for an invention for braking wheels on carriages. 1774. MD 292, No. 19

PEAT CUTTING

- Notes on Peat cutting. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908. MS 745a

PORTS

- Plan of Hull port and docks. 1872. (Library) 20 H/11

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN

- Notes on pottery and porcelain. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1921. MS 745a

PRINTING WORKS

- Plans of E. J. Arnold's printing and stationery works, Hunslet, Leeds. 1895-1906. DD 196/3,4,31-34

QUARRIES

- Conveyance of an ancient messuage and stone pit or 'delff' in Rastrick occupied by Nathaniel Boothroyd. 1682. DD 12/II/14G
 Draft leases, plans and incidental correspondence relating to quarries and associated buildings at Anston. 1842-9. DD 5/21
 Essay on Kirkby Slate Quarries, near Broughton. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907. MS 745a
 Report of the Brodsworth Limestone Quarry. John Gardner. 1853. DD 168/4
 Share certificate in Scotgate Ash Stone Co. Ltd. Pateley Bridge. 1896. MD 355

RAILWAYS

Blackburn Railway

- Plans, elevations and book of reference to plans of proposed extension of the Blackburn Railway from Chatburn to Settle. 1856-64. MD 335/45

Bradford, Wakefield and Leeds Railway

- Sale of land at Ossett for railway from Richard Kennett Dawson to Rev. John Allott and Bradford, Wakefield and Leeds Railway Company. 1863. DD 125/12

Huddersfield, South and East Junction Railway

- Map of all railways between Lancashire and the East Coast showing the proposed Huddersfield, South and East Junction Railway. 1880. (Library) 20H/51

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway

- Deeds of covenants re Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway from the estate of Richard Kennett Dawson. 1849. DD 125/12
 Documents relating to the formation of the Lancashire and Yorkshire (North Eastern) Railway and the acquisition of land. 1844-5. DD 121/B84

- Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway v. Rastrick Overseers. Brief for the appellants against a rate. Leeds Sessions. 1851. DD 105
- Richard Kennett Dawson's agreement with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. 1819. DD 125/11
- Leeds and Derby Railway*
Petition of W. Sykes Ward to parliament against the Midland Railway (Leeds-Derby) infringing rights of way and access by railway works. c 1815. DD 73
- Leeds and Thirsk Railway*
Agreement between Leeds and Thirsk Railway and Francis Hawksworth Fawkes, for building railway on Fawkes' land. 1845. DD 161/5F/3
Notice to Sir Charles Slingsby of the proposed line—Knaresborough to Boroughbridge and property required at Staveley. 1846. DD 56/B3
- Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle Railway*
Plans of the Railway. (2 mss., 1 printed) 1847 and n.d. DD 5/21/4
- Manchester and Leeds Railway*
Act transferring the following lines to the Manchester and Leeds Railway Company: Ashton, Stalybridge and Liverpool Junction Railway, Manchester, Bolton and Bury Railway, Liverpool and Bury Railway, Huddersfield and Sheffield Junction Railway, West Riding Union Railway, Wakefield, Pontefract and Goole Railway. 1847. DD 125/11
Sale of a plot of land to the Manchester and Leeds Railway Company for making a road bridge. 1838. DD 99/B13/15
- Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway*
Prospectus, draft conveyances and associated papers. 1844-50. DD 5/21/4
- Ribblesdale Railway*
Plans and prospectus for the proposed link railway from Ribblesdale to Earby. 1865. MD 335/46
Plans of railways and proposed railways on the Ribblesdale Estate. 19 Cent. MD 335 Maps 37-46
- Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley, Wakefield, Huddersfield and Goole Railway.*
Act for the Railway. 9 Vict (1846) (2 copies) DD 105
- Wakefield, Pontefract and Goole Railway*
Bill 8 Vict (1845), with supporting evidence. 1845. DD 105
- West Riding Union Railway*
West Riding Union Railway Act incorporating the Manchester and Leeds Railway Company. Stipulating works, bridges etc in the parish of Halifax. 1846. DD 125/11
- Wharfedale Railway*
Act 9 & 10 Vict (1846) DD 105
- Whitby and Pickering Railway*
Plan and section of intended Whitby and Pickering Railway. n.d. (Library) 20L/15
- Wilson Estate*
Five plans of proposed railways on the Wilson Estate, Bradford, Yorkshire. 19th Cent. MD 335 Box 17/6
- York and North Midland Railway*
Schedule of land required by the York and North Midland Railway Company. 1846. DD 56/B3
- Yorkshire Light Railway*
Map of the Yorkshire Light Railway through Gisburn and correspondence. 1904. MD 335 Box 17/14

ROADS

- Arden*
Map showing the public highway through the township of Arden with Ardenside. 1842. MS 417
- Bradford*
Tolls collected at Quarry Gap Bar near Bradford. 1752. MD 335/50
- Clitheroe*
Accounts etc for the turnpike at Clitheroe, Lancashire. n.d. MD 335 Oversize Vol. 6
- Doncaster*
Act for repairing the roads from Doncaster through Ferrybridge to Tadcaster Cross, and from Ferrybridge to Wetherby and Boroughbridge. 1799. DD 56/Q1
Petition to the House of Commons supporting the bill for a turnpike road between Doncaster and Selby. n.d. MS 400
Petition in City of York re repairing of roads including Doncaster to Ferrybridge. 1740. DD 25/3
- Garton*
Garton and Grimston Highway Book. 1771-1825. MS 490
- Harrogate*
Act for repairing the road from Harrogate through Knaresborough to Boroughbridge. 1819. DD 56/Q1

Hipperholme

Hipperholme Surveyors Road Book. 1836-50.

MS 877

Knaresborough

Accounts book of the overseers of highways of Knaresborough, with tolls. 1729-1835.

MD 335 Oversize Vol 9

Act for repairing the road from Knaresborough to Green Hammerton. 1820.

DD 56/Q1

Leeds

Act to repair the road from Leeds through Harewood to Ripon and Hutton Moor. 1777.

DD 56/Q1

Market Weighton

Act for forming the Market Weighton road in the manor of Spaldington. n.d.

MS 599i

Ribblesdale

Plans of turnpike and carriage roads on the Ribblesdale Estate including Gisburn, Marsden, Nelson and Long Preston. 19th Cent.

MD 335 Maps 33-36

Todmorden

Statement of cases and Counsel's opinion on the use of and tolls for turnpike roads in the Todmorden area. 1797-1853.

DD 99/F5

Wetherby

Act to repair and widen the road from Wetherby to Knaresborough. 1783.

DD 56/Q1

Acts for the repair of the road from Wetherby to Grassington. 1774 and 1806.

DD 56/Q1

York

Acts for repairing the road from York over Skipbridge to Boroughbridge. 1749, 1771 and 1818.

DD 56/Q1

SEWERS

Plan of the township of Leeds, Holbeck and Hunslet entitled 'Leeds Improvements - proposed artificial drainage by main sewers and drains.' 1847-8.

DD 196/1

Report on the Hamburg cholera epidemic and and fire leading to major improvement of sewage arrangements including water for domestic and fire fighting purposes. 1848-9.

MD 280

SHIPBUILDING

Essay on Shipbuilding at Hessle. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1907.

MS 745a

SHIPPING

Notes on shipping. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908.

MS 745a

SLATE QUARRYING

Notes on slate quarrying. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908.

MS 745a

SMITHIES - *see* IRONWORKING

STEAM PLOUGH WORKS

Plans of John Fowler's Steam Plough and Locomotive Works, Hunslet, Leeds. 1909-1973.

DD 196/4-30

STEEL MANUFACTURE

Notes on iron mining and iron and steel manufacture. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1908.

MS 745a

TILE MAKING

Notes on brick and tile making. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresboough. 1908.

MS 745a

VITRIOL

Conversion of Darton iron blast furnaces to a vitriol factory. 1825.

DD 70/137

WAGES

Farm hands' wages and estimates of cash wages and value of farm perquisites. 1919.

DD 161/20A/7

Wages sheets for navvies. 1913.

DD 161/19J

WATER DRAINAGE - *see* DRAINAGE

WATER MAINS

Notes on the use of water mains between 1616 and 1895. W. A. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1906.

MS 745a

WATER MILLS

Barmston

Grant of a water mill in Barmston; Francis Boynton to William Wattsonn. 1597. DD 53/III/75

Barugh

Lease for 21 years, Anthony Rhodes - Sir Thos. Wentworth, for cottage and water corn mill at Barugh. 1610. DD 70/63

Bramley

Title deeds of Whitecote or Stephenson mills in Bramley, consisting of two fulling mills, one water corn mill, kiln and dwelling house. 1613-1719. DD 12/I/15 Nos. 1-18

Brighouse

Conveyance, Thos. Pilkington to John Thornhill, of a water corn mill and fulling mill called Brighouse Mills. 1608. DD 12/II/39

Cawthorne

Deeds etc. relating to Cawthorne water corn mill. 1612-86. DD 70/52

Deeds etc. relating to Cawthorne water corn mill. 1635-9. DD 70/55

Clayton

Fine. Messuage, lands and two water corn mills in Clayton and Holmfirth. 1682. DD 70/60

East Bradford

Indentures for three water corn mills and all the sute, soken, toll etc. in East Bradford. 1696-9. DD 25/3

Erringden

Indenture for a water corn mill and drying kiln at Erringden, Halifax, called Hoo Hole Mill. 1799. DD 99/B2/159

Farnley

Agreement for sale of reversionary interest in the mill, waterwheel, lands etc. at Farnley Beck. 1856. MD 279/B8/10

Flockton

Grant by William Wombwell of the manor of Upper and Nether Flockton to Thomas Wentworth, with messuage, lands and water mill there. 1593. DD 70/109

Grantley

Bargain and Sale of Grantley Mill. 1639. DD 53/II/222

Conveyance of a watermill and grounds at Grantley, Yorks. 1679. DD 53/I/33(31)

Lease for one year of a house and water corn mill with lands in Grantley, Yorks. 1678. DD 53/II/35

Guisseley

Letters patent granting various monastic lands to William Ramesden and Edward Hoppery including a water corn mill at Guiseley. 1545. DD 12/31

Heptonstall

Mortgage on a water corn mill at Lee, Heptonstall. 1700 DD 99/B5/51

Holmfirth

Fine. Messuage, lands and two water corn mills in Clayton and Holmfirth. 1682. DD 70/60

Killinghall

Deeds of a water corn mill called Killinghall Mill, with soke and suit. 1596. DD 56/B2

Leathley

Abstract of title to the manor and cornmill of Leathley and mills at Pool. 1528-1667. DD 161/36

Abstract of title to the manor of Leathley and water corn mill of Leathley and mills at Pool. 1528-1703. DD 161/25

Micklehawe near Masham

Release from William Woodhouse, tanner of land and a water corn mill at 'Micklae', Yorks. 1612. DD 69/3

Mirfield

Release by Thos. Wentworth of two watermills etc. in Mirfield, Yorkshire. 1558. MD 209/32

Pool

Details of the weir at Pool Mill. 1873. DD 161/3E/3

Letter from W. H. J. Garnett to Mr. Fawkes giving particular as to the wheels, fall etc. at Pool Mill. 1912. DD 161/E/3

Reighton

Two grants of a water mill at Reighton. 1348 and 1349. DD 42/420, 421

Ripon

Contract for the sale of church lands in North Stainley and East Mill and Bye Mill in Ripon. 1650. (Two copies) DD 115/3/15a,b

Indenture between Henry Atkinson and Miles Staveley re assignment of the Bye Mill, Ripon 1672. DD 115/1/22

Indenture between Sir Richard Graham and Thomas Redshaw and Henry Atkinson re lease of the Bye Mill at Ripon. 1665. DD 115/1/19

Indenture between Thos. Craven and Thos. Ridsdale and Miles Staveley re a water corn mill, the Bye Mill, Ripon. 1696. DD 115/2/13

Indenture between Thomas Warcop and Christopher Wilde and John Smirke of Bishopton re the New Mill, Ripon. 1656. DD 115/7/23

Lease. William Staveley to Sampson Staveley of the East Mill, Ripon. 1650. DD 115/7/18

Two indentures between Sir Richard Graham, Thos. Redshaw and Miles Staveley re water corn mill, the Bye Mill, Ripon and a fulling mill and farm. 1665. DD 115/2/8,9

Sedburgh

Deeds of Milnthrop Mill, Sedburgh, a water corn and malt mill and drying kiln. 1742-89. DD 60/M/5-19

Deeds of Pestall Holme, Sedburgh, a water corn mill and drying kiln. 1736-39. DD 60/M/2-4

Stansfield

Grant from Henry Naylor of Burnstubb, Ayringden to Henry Naylor his son, including a water corn mill and a fulling or walke mill in Stansfield. 1627. DD 99/B22/11

Wakefield

Wakefield Mill Book. Amounts of cereals ground at Wakefield Mill Dam Mill and Horbury Mill. Mar.-Oct. 1730. MD 335/62/1

Wike

Grant of moiety of water corn mill called Wike Milne in Wike, Richard Arthington to Richard Walker. 1567. DD 33/B

York

Lease of site and property belonging formerly to St. Robert's Friary, York, including a water mill, 1584. DD 148/56

see also CORN MILLS; FULLING MILLS; MILLS.

WATER SUPPLY

Correspondence between Leeds Water Works and the Farnley Estate Officer about a new system for supplying three farms. Power to be supplied by a Tangye oil engine. 1916. DD 161/20F/2

Lease of rights in fields called the Babs for the purpose of construction of water tanks and underground pipe to supply water to Cawthorne. 1805. DD 70/120

Note on the wooden water mains in museums at Bury St. Edmonds, York and Hull. W. S. Atkinson. Knaresborough. 1906. MS 745a

Plan of Strines Reservoir, Sheffield Corporation. Scale of 6 chains to 1 inch. 20th Cent. DD 54/BRA473-8

Stay of Chancery proceedings re Building of a reservoir to Bracken's paper mill at Luddenden, Yorks. 1875. DD 99/B11/3

Water supply to three farmhouses at Newall together with details of supply to villages on the Fawkes Estate. 1890-1915. DD 161/4/1-6

West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers Board confidential report on reservoirs and gathering grounds in the West Riding, with plans. (Printed). 1919. MS 1163

WATER WORKS

Baildon

Papers relating to the construction of Baildon Waterworks. (Includes drawings). 1858-92. DD 161/5A/1-14

Burley-in-Wharfedale

Papers relating to the construction of Burley-in-Wharfedale Waterworks. 1873-75. DD 161/5B/1-9

Knaresborough

Papers relating to Knaresborough Waterworks. 1763-4. DD 56/B3

Menston

Miscellaneous papers relating to Menston Waterworks, including several plans. 1875-95. DD 161/5C/1-10

Otley

Papers relating to the construction of Otley Waterworks. 1866-7. DD 161/5G

Yeadon

Acts of Parliament concerning Yeadon Waterworks. 1897-1919. DD 161/31 a-o

Miscellaneous papers and plan relating to the construction of waterworks at Yeadon. 1889-1919. DD161/5D/1-64

WINDMILLS

Goldale

Two deeds for the windmill at Goldale. 1328 and 1342. MD 335 Millar 87, 86

Heck

Grant between John Dannay and Roger Smyth of Kelvyngton of a windmill at Heck. 1401. *MD 335/36*

Hensall

Release (John de Newton and others to John Dannay) of all rights in a windmill in the field of Hensall. 1397. *MD 335/35*

Tockwith

Legal documents relating to various sales and conveyances concerning Tockwith mill. 1641-83.

MD 110a

Record of a dispute re the erection of a windmill at Tockwith. 16th Cent.

MS 111

WOOLLEN TRADE

Letters, receipts etc of William Haigh, clothier and wool merchant of Saddleworth, West Yorkshire. 1826-32. *DD 96/16*

Notes and accounts, chiefly relating to the sale of wool, of Edmund Peckover of Undercliff, near Bradford. 1776. *DD 108*

BOOK REVIEWS

P. V. ADDYMAN and V. E. BLACK (eds), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M. W. Barley*, York Archaeological Trust, York 1984; pp. xiv + 208, figs 102. £15 from YAT, 3 Kings Court, York YO1 2LE.

Twenty-two papers on aspects of the archaeology of York and its neighbourhood form a collection made in honour of Professor Maurice Barley and including an appreciation of his career, a bibliography of his published work, and introductions by the Archbishop of York and Magnus Magnusson. The contributors are all in some way connected with the York Archaeological Trust, whose Chairman he has been since its formation, whether as members of its staff, its Council or as participants in the conferences which it has organized so successfully. The papers cover a wide spectrum: five deal with the Roman occupation, five with the Anglian and Scandinavian period, six with the Middle Ages, five with archaeological theory and practice, and the last and longest is a useful and comprehensive summary made for the Department of the Environment by Gill Andrews of what was known of ancient York from excavation and observation up to 1982.

Merely to list the titles and authors would occupy nearly a page, and so I will pick out those which to me seem most original or likely to be of permanent value. Peter Addyman provides an illuminating discussion of 'York in its Archaeological Setting', summarizing current knowledge of the area surrounding the city from the Iron Age to the Norman Conquest and directing attention to likely areas of settlement, as suggested by aerial photography, and profitable lines of research. Although he and Ian Goodall have already considered the ironwork on the door of Stillingfleet church in *Archaeologia*, S. A. J. Bradley shows that further study of Anglo-Saxon and medieval poetry on the symbolism of the Rood and the Ship of the Church can give us an insight on what this decoration meant to contemporary parishioners.

David Palliser in 'York's West Bank: Medieval Suburb or Urban Nucleus?' offers some stimulating ideas about the possible post-Roman development of the Micklegate area, perhaps a settlement laid out by the archbishops around their original cathedral. He turns on its head the usual belief that the Anglian cathedral was near the present Minster and that Archbishop Aethelberht's *Alma Sophia* was possibly at Holy Trinity, Micklegate, by suggesting that the latter church may have been the site of the archiepiscopal see and the Minster a later aggrandizement of a palace chapel. He shows that the grant of 685 to Durham fits the *colonia* site better than that of the fortress and reminds us of the old royal property of the King's Tofts on the west bank, the later site of the Dominican Friary (and of the Old Station).

Three articles are an outcome of the conference on urban friaries held in 1980. Barrie Dobson has expanded his lecture into a valuable survey of the evidence for the 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in late medieval York'. The personalities of the friars of the four orders established in the city, their appreciation by the local community, especially for their services in praying for its departed members, their links with international scholarship, the use of their houses by the aristocracy as 'the nearest approximation to a fashionable hotel' and the fate of these friaries are studied with an attractive and formidable breadth of learning. Lawrence Butler writes about recent achievements and future possibilities from friary excavation, while David Stocker reassesses as an infirmary the Franciscan building at Lincoln which houses the City and County Museum.

For the more scientifically minded reader O'Connor, Hall, Jones and Kenward review the most important results of ten years' study of environmental archaeology at York. Samples from Roman layers are typified by grain beetle remains in hundreds of millions while dung beetles, rats, mice and frogs grew fat in Viking houses and their surrounding rubbish heaps. Past inhabitants of the city ate bread contaminated with poisonous corncockle seeds, were bitten by fleas and infected by a variety of intestinal worms—or so the analysis of cess pit and rubbish deposits shows. Some collections of seeds and insects made by the Trust's environmental experts suggest that in the post-Roman period the Bedern and Coppergate were abandoned by human settlers, a desertion confirmed by the bones of shy mammals found there.

The student of Yorkshire archaeology will have to turn repeatedly to this valuable collection, whether he wants to learn about the spacing of timber towers on the legionary fortress walls (Sumpter), to have a fresh view from petrology of the date of the 'Anglian' tower (Buckland), to find how to stop excavated and waterlogged timbers from shrinking (Spriggs) or to discover which modern method of constructing foundations will do least damage to archaeological layers (Stockwell). Whether he is consulting Colin Briden on the work of Dr. Thurnam, Richard Hall on sunken buildings in Viking York (compared with pioneer dwellings in colonial Virginia), Ottaway on *Colonia Eburacensis*, Brinklow on Roman settlement around the fortress or Jones on its cemeteries, he is bound to find in the next article something interesting. Herman Ramm will tell him about the Duel Cross milestone near Aldborough, Dominic Tweddle about a piece of Anglian metalwork, Mrs. Hutton about outshuts to timber-framed houses and Philip Rahtz how experts dispute over reconstructing buildings from postholes. He will wish to put each site in its context from Mrs. Andrews' survey of York excavations and will find throughout the book appreciative comments on Maurice Barley's support and how the varied topics relate to his wide interests.

By comparison with current book prices this helpful compilation is not expensive. It is well printed (by H. Charlesworth of Huddersfield) and carefully edited. It will join the Trust's other publications and the RCHM's York inventories as an essential component of the urban archaeologist's library.

RCHM. York

R. M. BUTLER.

K. J. ALLISON (Ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding. V, Holderness, Southern Part*, Oxford University Press for University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1984, pp. xvi + 222, pl. 17, figs. 25, £60.

The present volume is the fifth dealing with the East Riding of Yorkshire and more are to follow. That at the beginning of the century the whole of the greater area of the North Riding was dealt with in two and an index volume, reflects not only the slimmer books necessary for modern purses if the old standards of printing and binding are to be approached but more importantly the more detailed documentation and greater scholarship expected today. Dr. Allison and his team are to be congratulated on the rapid production (1974, 1976, 1979, and now 1984) of the first four volumes dealing with the rural areas of the old East Riding. Speed of publication is an added bonus. The major achievement is the solid and detailed historical research.

In spite of the modern encroachments of Hull, the decayed Victorian resorts of Withernsea and Hornsea, and the rashes of caravans that occasionally disfigure its coast, Holderness is still mainly agricultural and rural and even villages that send their daily quotas of commuters into Hull still manage to retain an air of remoteness. Sea, estuary and river have historically formed its boundaries to the extent that it was often known as the island of Holderness and this isolation can still be sensed today. The present Borough of Holderness, oddly named for such a rural area, although its boundaries are reduced and to that extent less rational than those of the old wapentake, is responsible for an area that is more of a geographical unity than that of any of the other districts into which the modern county is divided. As a wapentake Holderness cannot be taken back before the twelfth century. At the time of the Domesday Book it was divided into the three small hundreds of North, Middle and South Holderness, whose very names recognize that they are part of a unity. As *East Riding V* puts it 'Holderness was evidently a territorial unit before the Conquest', carefully chosen but colourless words that avoid any speculation as to whether that unity was ever anything more than geographic. A footnote refers one to the most recent discussion, by Barbara English, which comes to a much more detailed conclusion. 'The district of Holderness probably had a court in the days of the Danish settlers: in the tenth century the district was divided into three hundreds . . .' It is on the caution that this contrast displays that the authority of the Victoria County Histories is based. Their concern is to present the factual evidence and only the most primary deductions from it. Speculation based on no records, however closely argued, is outside their brief.

The Domesday hundreds in some sense survived through the middle ages as bailiwicks and into the twentieth century as petty sessions divisions. *East Riding V* includes the smallest division, the South one, with the important additions of the parish of Preston and the former Borough of Hedon, a total of 18 parishes. One disadvantage of the Victoria County Histories' method of recording history topographically, parish by parish, particularly with slimmer volumes bearing the extra weight of more detailed scholarship, is that one lacks an overall view. This is not adequately provided by the brief introduction to the wapentake with which the book begins. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments faced a similar problem in its county inventories by providing sectional prefaces, discussions on a thematic basis of the evidence fragmented in the individual parish articles. A similar approach would have made digestion of the mass of material provided here much more easy. This would have been particularly valuable in dealing with an area like Holderness, a geographical unit smaller than a county. Holderness moreover possessed another unifying feature. From 1086 to 1160 it was a large block of land in the possession of a single lord who held all of Holderness except for church lands. Most Norman estates consisted of manors scattered over a larger area.

The area of *East Riding V* has both a sea and an estuarine coast. Both have suffered erosion but the latter in more recent centuries also accretion. Sunk Island is a whole parish which has grown from a quicksand visible at low water in 1560. The growth of the reclaimed land from the small island first inhabited in the late seventeenth century to its complete junction in the nineteenth with the mainland is well described and illustrated with a clear map, one of several which are such a feature of this and its companion volumes. The documentation for the architecture of the island is well provided, a photograph of one of the farms printed, and reference made to the materials used. Perhaps it would be wrong in this context to expect more, but it would have been interesting to have had a description of the organization and layout of one of the farms purpose-built by the Crown in the mid-nineteenth century. Settlements have been lost to the sea along the length of the Holderness coast. The best known and most important is perhaps the thirteenth-century town and port of Ravenser Odd, here described in the article of Kilnsea. Ravenser Odd is geographically the name of a predecessor of Spurn Point. The description of the cycle of repeated destruction and regrowth further west of this peninsula is an example of the clear English with which the writers of this book are able to convey complicated ideas in a minimum of words.

East Riding V contains two of the finest churches in the whole Riding, those of Patrington and Hedon, reflecting the former wealth of both communities dependent on ports which silted up. Patrington never was more than an agricultural market and trading centre. Hedon was granted a royal charter as a borough between 1156 and 1172-3 and developed from there. *East Riding V* describes Patrington as 'a large compact village with a complex street layout centred upon Market Place and High Street.' As the published air-photograph shows this complex street layout is now only partly built-up, and is more suited to an urban than a village community. Surely we have here either a decayed or a failed town.

Preston, another large village with a notable church, has always been a mainly agricultural village. The simple pre-enclosure layout of its open fields is well illustrated by a clear map and the wealth of documentation

for its post-medieval agrarian history is well displayed. For the medieval period the open field system of Preston has already been the subject of a monograph by Mary Harvey, who has analyzed the fields and holdings by working backwards from the well-documented eighteenth century. The article in *East Riding V*, one of the seven contributed by Dr. G. H. R. Kent, demonstrates how scanty is hard documentary evidence for the medieval history of the fields.

York

H. G. RAMM

B. J. BARBER, *Guide to the Quarter Sessions of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1637-1971 and other official records*. West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, 1984; pp. xviii + 90, pl. 7. £3.50 + 50p p. and p.

The title sums up the contents of this useful work, but it is far more than a list of the types of document preserved, since it explains how the courts operated, how records were enrolled and illustrates some of the plans and architects' drawings. Besides the county Quarter Sessions records the writer discusses those of the archbishop's liberties of Ripon, Cawood, Wistow and Otley and of petty sessions in boroughs. Minutes of committees survive for regulating the Pauper Lunatic Asylum, House of Correction, and militia depots. There are accounts of 118 turnpike trusts, of gas companies and waterworks, notifications of printing presses and masons' lodges (under the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799), registers of game certificates and knackers' yards. A note on access to records explains which classes (as hospital patients' records) are closed for up to 100 years. Enough has been said to show that this book will be an essential aid to anyone wishing to study social history from West Riding records, whether he is interested in alehouses, coalfields, lunacy or tramways, in plans of bridges and prisons, or in working through the series of indictment and order books for the last three centuries.

G. D. BARNES *Kirkstall Abbey 1147-1539: an historical study*

Publications of the Thoresby Society Vol. LVIII for 1982, No. 128 (Leeds 1984) xii + 106 pp. 1 plate, 1 map.

It is surprising that until now Kirkstall Abbey had received no full historical account to set alongside Hope and Bilson's architectural account. It is remarkable too that the previous monastic history published by the Thoresby Society was of Bolton Priory, a good charabanc ride away from Leeds. Mr. Barnes now fills this gap with a thorough account which leaves few potential sources untapped. The approach to the various facets of the abbey's history is well composed, though influenced by Hockey's work at Quarr and Beaulieu. The difficult early years at Barnoldswick, the accumulation of land in north-west Yorkshire, the circumstances of the benefactors, the economic organisation, the internal history and the external relations of the monastery are all dealt with systematically and without undue repetition. Then the last years are discussed and the fate of the buildings, the lands and the religious are traced. The verdict is that "it is not unreasonable to suppose that a decent, if uninspired, observance of the religious life was on the whole maintained over most of this long period". In this respect, and it is said without malice, the author and the abbey are well suited because this account of Kirkstall is a decent, if uninspired, observation of the monastery across the four centuries.

There is no light and shade in this account. One passes through the political crisis of 1182-90 when the house was near dissolution, through the economic crisis of 1276-81 when the house needed drastic financial surgery and through the crisis of vocation in 1366-77 when the abbot led the way in local lawlessness, all at the same measured pace. One reads of rebellion on the Lancashire granges when the lay-brothers were killed and learns of the gift of a dependent Benedictine priory, Burstall in east Yorkshire, with its dowry of churches but there is no comment on the probable repercussions of these actions upon the community. How did Cistercian idealism survive in such circumstances?

There are relatively few faults. The main one is a tendency for the author to assemble material rather than to launch out on his own. No new interpretations are offered for any of the documents published in the early years of this century. There is at times a reliance upon old standard works—Guignard of 1878 rather than the reading by Lekai of 1973. Mr. Barnes comments (p.51) that the obedientiary system was not highly developed at Kirkstall; this is not surprising when such a regime was contrary to Cistercian statutes. There are occasional omissions: the use of Pontefract as a place of burial by the Lacy family is not included (p.68); mention of royal involvement in Cistercian foundation omits Edward I (Vale Royal 1274; Aberconway 1283) and Edward III (St. Mary Graces 1350); the house of 'Theolocus' is not identified—Theully near Besancon. The author does not seem to be aware of recent archaeological work on the church at Fountains or on the guesthouse at Kirkstall. More seriously there is an absence of maps indicating the location of possessions either around Leeds or across the north. The contrast with Michelmores' recent *Fountains Abbey Lease Book* is very striking in this respect. The index is generally trustworthy but Wether Grange at Bramley appears correctly as Nether Grange in the index.

These criticisms do not detract from the work as a whole. In Mr. Barnes Kirkstall Abbey has found a worthy historian.

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LAWRENCE BUTLER

Borthwick Institute Bulletin 3.2. 1984, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St. Anthony's Hall, York, YO1 2PW; pp. 54. £1 + 25p p. and p.

This contains the annual report of the Institute's work for 1983-4, a list of Methodist archives of the York area from 1787 to 1981 deposited there, and articles by D. Willis and T. M. Cooper on conservation problems with the 15th and 16th-century York House Books caused by earlier repairs, and by D. Smith on the lost register of Archbishop Thoresby's vicar-generals.

P. C. D. BREARS, *The Gentlewoman's Kitchen: Great Food in Yorkshire 1650-1750*, Wakefield Historical Publications, 1984; pp. 170; figs. 45. £9.75.

This attractive book with its delightful illustrations reveals the author's breadth of knowledge and interests, for it is not only full of recipes drawn from a variety of 17th and 18th-century sources, but includes a useful discussion of the development of the dining room from the open hall, extracts from inventories, apposite poetic quotations, and a useful glossary of archaic culinary terms and names for utensils. The reader may have full confidence in Mr. Brear's expertise, for he has tested many recipes by actually cooking and serving them. Possibly few will want to sample rook-ale (with real rooks to give it body) or snail broth, while we are warned that the recipe of 1683 for whisky is 'both illegal and potentially dangerous'. Other dishes, however, are attractive and recommended by the writer. Such are venison pasty, pickled radishes, syllabubs, hippocras and 'Ouse Bridge Cakes'. Here you can learn how to make knots or jumbles, musketerions, and a punch that will last for seven years.

Illustrations of kitchens, brewhouses, spit roasting, table setting and house plans complement the lively text. Every aspect of the gentleman's diet is discussed in eighteen chapters, including 'Of Games and Poultry', 'Of Bread and Oatcake' and 'Of Possets & Caudles'. Vegetables seem somewhat neglected, though briefly appearing in 'Of Pickles and Catsups', while herbs are assumed as the ingredients of herb pudding, rather than discussed in detail. This book will be consulted by the architect to know how the 17th-century kitchen, bakehouse or brewhouse really worked, by the archaeologist on the purpose of types of pots, by the social historian and, of course, by the adventurous cook. Techniques of hunting and fishing can be found here, together with the original use of a banqueting house. A wide sale can be confidently predicted for this work since, though the foods it discusses were served at the tables of the rich, the writer has set down in a readable and popular style the results of years of research, experiment and, we presume, hearty eating.

SANDRA BROWN, *The Medieval Courts of the York Minster Peculiar*, Borthwick Papers No. 66, York. pp. vi + 32, figs 1. £1.80 + 20p p. and p.

In addition to the courts of the archbishop and archdeacons, the dean and chapter of York and the prebendaries held courts for the tenants and parishioners on their estates. Records of these survive from 1333 and dealt with a variety of business—defamation, matrimonial and testamentary disputes. They were usually presided over by an *auditor causarum* appointed for his administrative experience. The author discusses the relations between these different peculiar courts and those of other jurisdictions, their procedure and their survival. Although the booklet deals mainly with the courts in the 14th and 15th centuries, they survived the Reformation and were not abolished until 1846, when Lawton could still identify some thirty in the dioceses of Ripon and York.

JOE CLAY, *Drawings of Wakefield*, Wakefield Historical Publications 1984; pp. x + 50 pls.

This collection of 50 sketches of Wakefield by Mr. Clay, a retired planning officer, is intended to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Wakefield Historian Society. The views it contains are pleasant enough and will no doubt remind local inhabitants of buildings or streetscapes lost or altered since 1963, when most of them were made. However, in view of the current pressure on scarce resources for architectural and historical publishing, lavish treatment (one side only of an A4 page with wide margins for each view) is given to them. This generous layout for rough and unfinished sketches could be defended if they were by Buck or Turner of buildings otherwise unrecorded, but not for examples as 10 (a study of concrete lamp standards) or 47 (the bus station). The story of the destruction of old Wakefield could have been told more economically with photographs and still have allowed some space to explain to the reader what he was supposed to be seeing.

R. B. DOBSON and SARAH DONAGHEY, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery* The Archaeology of York 2/1) York Archaeological Trust and Council for British Archaeology, London. 1984. 40pp. 5 figs. 6 plates £4.95.

This is a work of three parts. The major part is the history of the Benedictine nunnery by Professor Dobson and Mrs. Donaghey and this account follows a clear chronological sequence. The minor parts are the excavations and the antiquarian drawings. Mr. D. Brinklow provides a brief summary of the excavations at the nunnery in 1976 and 1977 which revealed an "ill-understood confusion of tiny fragments" of a monastic structure and "almost 250 burials" in a relatively undisturbed state. Mr. D. Stocker examines the four known illustrations of c1705 and c1825 showing the single surviving building, removed in 1873. He cogently argues that this survival is the south claustral range on the analogy of Lincoln Grey Friars. A better parallel might have been the Cistercian nunnery of Syningthwaite or the literary evidence of the use of the south range at Nun Cotham.

The main body of this slim but well produced volume is the historical notice of the York suburb of Clementhorpe before the nunnery's foundation, the circumstances of the foundation of this first house for nuns in twelfth-century Yorkshire and then an account of its personnel and their possessions. The early date of its foundation (1125-33) by Archbishop Thurstan meant that it received substantial but widely-scattered and varied endowments, a circumstance that drew its stewards and prioresses into litigation and worldly contact. Its position outside the walls of York on the bank of the Ouse brought an involvement in trade and fishing. Of particular interest is the late medieval evidence from wills and other benefactions, showing how highly the nunnery, and some of its individual nuns, was regarded. In part this familiarity was because the nuns' church of St. Clement also acted as a parish church, in part there was an increased sense of devotion to the anchoresses within the nunnery as well as to specified images. At the Dissolution of 1536 the nuns were briefly reinstated by the common people of York supporting the Pilgrimage of Grace. The later history of the site and possessions is thoroughly examined.

If this book is intended for a national audience, or even an international one as its multi-lingual summaries suggest, then a general location map should have been given to show Clementhorpe in relation to the entire city of York. If this work is intended for a predominantly York readership, local historians might find the price high for a fascicule of 40 pages.

University of Leeds

LAWRENCE BUTLER

J. R. EARNSHAW and J. G. WATKINS, *An Excavation at Kirkgate, Bridlington 1980-81*, Hull, Humberside Leisure Services, 1984; pp. 64, pls 2, figs. 24. £2.50 + 45p p. and p. from Heritage Unit, Central Library, Albion Street, Hull.

On a site to the west of Bridlington Priory Church two trenches revealed a late Iron Age or early Roman ditch, a 12th-century wall footing and some 17th-century foundations of cottages, probably burnt down c. 1720. John Dent discusses the earliest phase, but most of this report deals with the medieval pottery and with an early 18th-century group from a well, including imported Rhenish slipwares. Other finds included flint scrapers, bronze buckles, glass bottles and clay pipes. The absence of occupation from 1450 to 1650 is explained by a later levelling of the site which removed deposits of the period.

PETER FERGUSSON, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-century England*, Princeton University Press 1984; pp. 188, figs. 23, pls 140. £64.70.

Architecture of Solitude is an important work on an important subject and Professor Fergusson's study is nothing if not thorough. Starting with the beginnings of the order at the end of the eleventh century he traces its progress through the twelfth and sets out in detail the very varied history of the different Cistercian houses which were established in England, from Waverley in Surrey, the first, through Rievaulx and Fountains to a total of forty eight by the end of a century. Not surprisingly, in an order which had such clear aims and such an effective organisation, there is a strong family resemblance among the various Cistercian Abbeys and it is this special character which Professor Fergusson sets out to examine and to relate to the rather scanty remains of early Cistercian work in England. The study is completely up-to-date and makes use of all the latest archaeological information, although the author is quick to point out that many of the sites have been cleared and tidied up rather than excavated.

This is part of his problem. Although the ground plans of a few of the very early Cistercian churches have been discovered, Waverley for instance, Tintern and very recently the first church at Fountains, about the only thing known for certain is that these were fairly simple buildings of a very modest size. The second generation of churches were considerably grander, although he believes that the church started at Fountains some time after the fire of 1147 of which the transepts largely survive was originally intended to have a shorter aisleless

nave and not the present aisled building. At Fountains the style is clearly Burgundian, although more elaborate than the style of such surviving churches at Pontigny and Fontenay. At Kirkstall the church is larger still and the detail richer. At Byland the plan assumes cathedral-like proportions and the style is getting very close to a full blooded gothic, although Professor Fergusson believes that at Byland the source of inspiration was no longer Burgundy but Northern France. The argument is well and clearly presented, the illustrations are pertinent and the actual photographs are clearly reproduced.

Whether one accepts his theses or not the discussion is well worth following. What seems a pity is the rather narrow limits he has chosen, confining himself mainly to the churches, rather than the monasteries as a whole, to questions of architectural style rather than to the total impact of the buildings and to the exact century rather than to the end of the epoch involved. This makes for a certain sense of disappointment because the culmination of the movement which he is describing is surely not Byland but the choir of Rievaulx, the Chapel of the Nine Altars at Fountains and the churches at Tintern and Beaulieu, and the total impact of the buildings as a setting for a very special way of life is surely just as important as the details. It also seems a pity that Professor Fergusson so completely ignores the way that the churches were finished; the encaustic tiling, for instance, the grisaille glass, the plastered and whitened walls lined out with false joints, the acoustic treatment of choirs to enhance musical tone, and such practical matters on water supply, drainage and the relationship of the abbey buildings to their precinct and curtilages and to the numerous ancillary buildings which, in an order which aims at self-sufficiency, must have assumed an even greater importance.

In spite of these limitations *Architecture of Solitude* marks an important advance in the understanding of Cistercian buildings and of the development of early Gothic. The format of the book is clear and logical; the numerous plans and diagrams help greatly in following the discussion. The bibliography and the extensive notes are most useful and the only Americanism which jars is his use of the word 'chevet' as a synonym of 'east end', when in English usage at least it means an apse with semi-circular ambulatory and a ring of chapels. The price also is high by English standards, although here the blame perhaps lies with the falling pound, but it is a book which all members of the society should read and those with a serious interest in our Cistercian Abbeys should possess. It is surprising how important our eight Cistercian Abbey are.

Harrogate

JOHN S. MILLER.

M. E. INGRAM, *The Maisters of Kingston upon Hull 1560-1840*, M. E. Ingram, Reighton Hall, Filey YO14 9RX, 1984; pp. 134, pls 4, figs 12. £9 inc. p. & p. from the author.

The Maisters were a family of Hull merchants whose ancestors had moved there from Kent in the mid-sixteenth century. Mr. Ingram traces their history, using letters and other documents, from William (1597-1664) to Henry William (1776-1846). Much of the story is devoted to Henry (1730-1812), his relations and friends, during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, when he commanded the East Yorkshire Militia. His correspondence illuminates the county's preparations against invasion. His father and grandfather were M.Ps for Hull from 1700 to 1741 and the former built the family's house in the High Street in 1744 after a fire which killed his wife, baby son and two maids. The Earl of Burlington was consulted on designs and Robert Bakewell executed the ironwork. The book includes descriptions and plans, both of this house and two early nineteenth-century country mansions at Winestead and Wood Hall near Burton Constable. Maister memorials at Hull, Ripon and Bath are also described.

The family played an important part in Hull's history for 300 years and details of the life and activities of its leading members are therefore of local interest. The book, privately published with the help of a grant from the Marc Fitch Fund, is illustrated by pleasant drawings by Francis Johnson and a useful family tree. An index would have been helpful.

JOAN W. KIRBY, ed., *The Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1425-1662: An Edition of Documents*. *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. LVII, 1983 for 1981, pp. lxxvii + 317. £9 + £1 p. & p.

Among the many interests of Professor John Le Patourel was the early history of Leeds, and his edition of *Documents Relating to the Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1066-1400* (Thoresby Society vol. XLV, 1957), was a major contribution to the subject. It is now appropriately followed by a volume on the succeeding period, dedicated to his memory and prefaced by an obituary tribute by G. C. F. Forster. Mrs. Kirby's aim is avowedly 'to continue his work by presenting a selection of the most important surviving documents, relating mainly to the period 1425 to 1630', and she has succeeded triumphantly.

A valuable and lengthy introduction is followed by reeve's financial accounts for ten selected years from 1438-9 to 1609-10; by surveys of the manor for 1548, 1612 and 1628; by an abstract of the indenture of conveyance of the manor in 1629; and by ordinances for regulating trade and gilds within the borough, 1629-62. Two important documents are not printed here in full, the 1425 survey or rental printed by the Thoresby Society in 1919 and the lively 'Ridinge Observation' of 1628 published by Professor Beresford in *Northern History* vol. x (1975), though the former appears in tabulated form as Appendix VI (in all there are seven

valuable appendices). English documents are printed exactly as they stand, and Latin documents translated. The result is a handsome, scholarly and well-indexed volume that is a pleasure to use; the one disappointment is the complete absence of maps and plans.

One clear contrast between the periods covered by the two volumes is the decline in population and manorial income following the outbreaks of bubonic plague from 1349 onwards. The numbers of tenants of the manor fell by 36 per cent between 1341-3 and 1425, and the value of the manorial corn mill by 33 per cent over the same period. Mrs. Kirby sees the plague stimulating changes which had originated before 1349, with the creation of the borough in 1207 and the breaking up of the manorial demesne in 1343. A new economy based on crafts and trade gradually superseded the manorial, agrarian economy: the customary tenants of 1425 were mostly farmers, whereas their successors of 1548 were in the main 'successful townsmen, who . . . doubtless regarded landholding . . . as extrinsic to their primary industrial or trading interests'. Commercial interests therefore predominated long before the incorporation of the borough in 1626, or even before the well-known Elizabethan expansion of the town, and not the least valuable of Mrs. Kirby's services is to document a physical and industrial expansion of Leeds in the later fifteenth century.

University of Birmingham

D. M. PALLISER

ROGER MIKET and COLIN BURGESS (eds.), *Between and Beyond the Walls. Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain in Honour of George Jobey*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh 1984; pp. xii + 424, figs 125. £25.

This is a collection of 22 papers in honour of one of the splendid characters of northern archaeology on his retirement from the Department of Archaeology in the University of Newcastle. They quite accurately reflect his research interests, both in terms of the area covered—Northumberland, Cumbria and Southern Scotland—and of the periods, for nine of the topics are prehistoric and seven are Roman. Of the rest, three are biographies of Northumbrian field workers, including Henry MacLauchlan and Professor Jobey himself, one is on the Dark Ages in Southern Scotland, one on Northumbrian folk medicine, and one on air photography of the same area. The authors are colleagues and co-workers of George Jobey, both young and old, and include some very competent amateurs as well as some of the best professionals in British archaeology. Taken as a whole the papers illustrate some of the great strengths of Northumbrian archaeology and perhaps one or two of its weaknesses.

The prehistoric papers start with a descriptive survey by Joan Weyman of the mesolithic of Durham and Northumberland, competently done, except that she seems to have missed Michael Tooley's work showing that the Hartlepool peat beds are neolithic, not mesolithic. It is followed by an equally good survey of long cairns of Cumbria and Northumberland by Lionel Masters, and by an appraisal of Beaker pottery problems in the north by Alex Gibson. Progress in Northumbrian prehistory has been rapid since the publication of Jobey's surveys of the settlements of the area in 1966, and it has therefore not been easy for the onlooker to obtain a complete and up-to-date overview in recent years. These surveys, and especially Colin Burgess's paper which follows them, go a long way towards fulfilling this need. Burgess's 'The Prehistoric Settlement of Northumberland: a Speculative Survey' is something of a tour-de-force, for in 50 pages he not only gives a good factual description from the mesolithic to the Roman period, but also seeks to interpret the data in terms of environmental and social factors. Dr. Burgess places great importance on the effects of climatic changes on shifts in prehistoric settlement, and thinks of these in rather apocalyptic terms. Thus we get 'dramatic changes in early mesolithic environment', 'a massive displacement of North Sea (mesolithic) population', 'a social, economic and environmental crisis at the end of the mesolithic' and 'major social and spiritual disruption on the Milfield Plain (in 1800bc)', followed by 'a phase of intensive and extensive upland settlement, one of the most dramatic discoveries of recent Border prehistory' (three proved sites) and finally at the end of the second millennium bc 'a widespread collapse of settlement and social systems, particularly severe in upland areas'.

Dr. Burgess uses his data to illustrate discontinuity, and of course there is some force in his arguments, but they tend to be unbalanced, for there is also evidence for underlying continuity. For example, Joan Weyman's closing paragraph (p. 49) shows how frequently mesolithic material is found with neolithic and bronze age arrowheads, seemingly a use of many sites for 4,500 years, which Dr. Burgess does not even mention. The strength of Northumbrian archaeology, well illustrated by these papers, is the magnificent tradition of fieldwork and excavation. One of its engaging weaknesses is the propensity to produce local dogmas. It was held for many years that wooden round huts were prehistoric, stone ones Roman, and Dr. Burgess (p. 145) rejoices in the demise of that theory due to George Jobey's work at Green Knowe in 1978. But, to my knowledge, nobody outside Northumberland ever believed in the theory in the first place.

A complementary paper is Lesley Macinnes' survey of prehistoric and Roman settlement and economy in East Lothian. One of its most interesting aspects is the discussion of early territorial boundaries, particularly because of the pit alignments discovered there, often seemingly associated with hillforts. This subject has not yet taken off in Northumberland, but there are areas of cross-ridge dykes and prehistoric stone walling which need to be studied more closely.

The Roman contributions are equally interesting and rather diverse, including studies of religious cults (Ken

Fairless), coinage in Scotland during the fourth century (John Casey), the mysterious souterrains of Southern Scotland (Humphrey Welfare), and a very brave attempt by David Breeze to quantify to supply problems of the army on the northern frontier. I found Roger Miket's biography and character study of John Collingwood Bruce compulsive reading. What a television personality Bruce would have made—a combination of Mortimer Wheeler and Horatio Bottomley!

To sum up, this book is a mine of information, worth the £25 price for many evenings of rewarding reading, for there isn't a dull paper in the whole collection. It is a fitting tribute to one who for many of us personifies Northumbrian archaeology and who has been a proponent of enthusiastic and very competent fieldwork and excavation, of prompt publication, and of the sheer fun of doing archaeology. George, we who live south of the ancient frontier salute you, and will drink your health in a decoction of Cuddy's Lugs (see p. 358)!

Skelton

D. A. SPRATT

T. P. O'CONNOR, *Selected Groups of Bones from Skeldergate and Walmgate*, The Archaeology of York 15/1, C.B.A. for York Archaeological Trust, London 1984; pp. 60, pls 2, figs. 8. £5.75.

This detailed study of bone finds, though raising problems of analysis and interpretation, is expected to be of considerable use to archaeologists and historians. At Skeldergate a Roman well was partly filled with debris from the slaughter and butchery of sheep and cattle. Samples from early 12th-century pits with many cattle and goat horncores were probably waste from a tannery. At Walmgate large numbers of sheep foot bones were associated with pits probably used for the working of sheepskin on an industrial scale. Bird bones from the site were mostly of chickens and geese but included turkey, peafowl and raven. This fascicule is the first part of the volume on animal bones.

J. M. ROBINSON. *Georgian Model Farms*. Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 172 + 113 Plates, £35.

One of the characteristic features of the Georgian Period is the Agricultural Revolution which transformed much of the countryside from a land of peasant holdings into comparatively large tenanted farms. Most of them were owned by landlords who had estates of 1,000 acres, and often very much more. Their interests usually extended beyond agriculture into politics, the arts, and sport, and they used their estates to develop their aesthetic and wider tastes as well as for revenue.

Examples of this side of landowning are the farmhouses and buildings which were erected at the time, many of them designed by such well known architects as Robert Adam, John Carr, and Capability Brown, to add to the splendour of the estate as well as for utilitarian purposes. J. M. Robinson describes samples of such farms and houses, their layouts, and the materials used in their construction, which are still to be found throughout many parts of the country, from South Devon to Aberdeenshire, and the author illustrates the book with more than 100 plates.

But he also draws attention to the effect of much of today's large-scale farming on the architectural buildings of the countryside, few of which, he fears, will survive the present generation, and he sadly predicts that his book will be their epitaph.

W. HARWOOD LONG

P. ROMNEY (ed.), *The Diary of Charles Fothergill 1805*, Y.A.S. Record Series 142, Leeds 1984; pp. vii + 282, pl. 12 + endpaper maps. £20.

From May 1805 to January 1806 Charles Fothergill, the 23-year old son of a Quaker comb manufacturer of York, travelled around Yorkshire collecting material for a proposed natural and civil history of the county. His diary contains notes on birds and fish, on archaeology and church monuments observed during a fortnight at Bridlington and six months in Nidderdale, Swaledale and Wensleydale. Descriptions of natural history are interspersed with anecdotes, such as a ghost story set near Scorton and a murder mystery at Aysgarth, descriptions of lead mining, horse droving, of leach gatherers on Knavesmire, barrow diggers near Bainbridge employing the help of a local wizard, whaling reminiscences, and his own romantic adventures. On 25-56 August, for instance, he sketched Tanfield Castle, examined the Thornborough Circles and the ruins of Jervaulx Abbey, sketched in Middleham where he watched a parade of the local volunteers, and finally crept into a servant's bed at the White Swan, trying not to disturb her bedfellow. His indignation because 'the Vandalic Lady' Paulet had removed inscribed glass from a room at Bolton Castle which had housed 'that interesting queen', Mary, seems false when it is clear that if it had still been there he would have contrived to collect a souvenir, as witness his attempts to prise open a tomb at Marrick Abbey and his companion's 'strong desire to steal' painted glass from Grinton Church.

Although the diary probably does not add much to what is already available on the natural history, archaeology or architecture of the area, it will be a quarry for apt quotations on social history. Its lively and engaging style conveys Fothergill's youthful enthusiasm and feel for the romantic and picturesque—see his accounts of Cauldron Snout and High Force. It must be the most readable of the Record Society's publications

for many years, and certainly the only one with so many amatory episodes, for besides dallying with the maid at Middleham, an ardent lady at Coverham, and a 13-year old in Wensleydale, Charles was proposing formally to Elizabeth Tennant of Bolton Castle.

The editor tells us something of the diarist's later history. He eventually married Charlotte Nevins of Leeds but was constantly in debt due to poor business sense, emigrated first to the Isle of Man, then in 1816 to Canada, and died at Toronto in 1840, an unsuccessful and embittered politician. The notes are good for identifying people but more guidance could have been given on antiquities. Fothergill mentions the Danes Graves near Driffild, was unsure whether the Danes Dyke at Flamborough was natural or man-made, visited the Roman fort at Bainbridge, Maiden Castle near Reeth, many abbeys, castles and barrows; some comment in the notes would have been helpful. However, enough has been said to show that this an entertaining book, in the class of Byng and Woodforde, if not of Boswell or Gronow.

SYBIL ROSENFELD, *The Georgian Theatre of Richmond and its circuit*, York, The Society for Theatrical Research in association with William Sessions, 1984; pp. 122, pls 6. £6.50.

The theatrical company which performed at Richmond in the late 18th century was headed from 1773 to 1812 by Samuel Butler, who had married its previous manageress. He extended its activities to Beverley, Harrogate, Kendal, Northallerton, Ulverston and Whitby, and after his death his widow and sons carried on for another thirty years. The theatre built for the company in 1778 was used for other purposes after 1848 and reopened after restoration in 1963. This book, based on the evidence of playbills and reminiscences, offers a mass of detail on the plays presented by the company and the parts taken by various actors. Some 285 different plays, operas and pantomimes are listed, 14 of them, such as *Whitby Lasses or a New Way to Get Rid of a Wife*, otherwise unknown. This account is a microcosm of the rise and decay of the provincial theatre in Georgian England.

RUTH STRONG (ed.), *Israel Roberts 1827-1881, Autobiography*, Wesley Historical Society, Yorkshire Branch, Occasional Paper No. 5, 1984 (60pp. + foreword, illustrations, footnotes, index, £1.20) + 0.25p p & p from D. C. Daws, 4 Lynwood Grove, Leeds LS12 4AU.

Israel Roberts was a woollen manufacturer in Stanningley (near Leeds) in a period of great social, industrial and technological change. As well as containing detail of family life and of the local Wesleyan church, this autobiography permits fascinating glimpses into the processes by which the factory system evolved out of a largely domestic basis of manufacture. Roberts himself began in a very small way and experienced lean years before expanding his business. The annual vicissitudes of trade are recorded (war always acted as a stimulus), and the uncertainties of the banking system are shown to have given some very anxious moments to the manufacturing class. Roberts witnessed the widespread introduction of powered machinery; he himself had learnt spinning on the hand jenny, but later in life came to rebuild his mill as a fully-integrated factory based on steam-powered machinery. The distress among the hand-loom weavers is recorded, but by the time of the greatest agitation—1866—Roberts was on the other side of the fence. The detail of a substantial millowner's life—changing conditions in the mills, the probing for new products and outlets, the purchasing of supplies at the London wool markets—are given an immediacy through Roberts' recollections. The overall impression of Roberts is almost that of the stereotype mill owner—a devout, hard-working, ever-searching, self-made man. Modern students of industrial and social history should be grateful on two counts, first that Roberts chose to leave this record, and second that Ruth Strong has made this source accessible to a wide audience. Any deficiencies in the format (the xeroxing is variable in quality) are easily outweighed by the value of the autobiography, which is supplemented by well-researched and informative footnotes.

RCHM York

COLUM GILES

R. N. SWANSON, *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398-1405*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 11; York 1985; pp. xviii + 162. £5.75 + 55p p. and p.

The first part of this calendar was reviewed in Vol. 55 of this journal and an idea of its contents and value to historians was given. The entries in this part are largely institutions of clergy and dispensations from the disqualification of illegitimacy. Papal and royal directives on provision to benefices and taxation also occur and there are details of proceedings to dissolve the Benedictine priory of Monks Kirby in Warwickshire and transfer its endowments to a Carthusian foundation of the Earl Marshal's at Axholme. The problem of criminous clerks recurs—two appear charged with robbery and two others had fought with staffs. A section of 70 entries deals with wills and another with the archbishop's two suffragans. Much of this part of the calendar is devoted to indices of ordinands: to modern readers their numbers are surprising since in 1400, for instance, 130 priests and 410 other clergy were ordained in the diocese, though out of 38 ordination ceremonies only two were held in York Minster. Vicars general often acted in the archbishop's absence to attend Parliament.

R. W. UNWIN, *Charity Schools and the defence of Anglicanism: James Talbot rector of Spofforth 1700-08*, Borthwick Paper No. 65, York 1984; pp. 38. £1.80 + 20p p. and p.

James Talbot, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and Regius Professor of Hebrew there, was appointed rector of Spofforth by his patron the Duke of Somerset. He found that leading gentry of his large parish were Roman Catholic in sympathy and opposed to his church's financial demands. To counteract their influence he determined to establish and maintain catechetical schools in co-operation with the S.P.C.K. He was soon 'busily engaged as unpaid organiser, examiner, inspector and general factotum in the local charity school' and in his will provided for its continuance. Although his fears of the local Catholics (about one in forty of his parishioners) were probably unjustified, he played an important part in providing schooling in the York diocese and his book, *The Christian Schoolmaster*, was reprinted by the S.P.C.K. as late as 1811.

ANN WEIKEL, ed., *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield from October 1583 to September 1585. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Wakefield Court Rolls Series*, vol. IV, 1984 for 1983, pp. xv + 189. £12.50.

The Society has already published many of the superb and important Wakefield court rolls, originally in the Record Series (1901-45) and since 1977 in a special series. Most volumes, however, have concentrated on the early rolls, and this is the first to cover any part of the sixteenth century. Dr. Weikel, Professor of History at Portland State University and an authority on Tudor England, has provided a calendar in English (the originals are mostly in Latin) of the records of 46 courts held in Wakefield and its dependencies for the two years beginning at Michaelmas 1583. Most were the regular courts baron held at Wakefield every three or four weeks, concerned mostly with land transfers. The twice-yearly courts leet, by contrast, dealt with law and order; 'affrays predominated', as Dr. Weikel notes, in contrast to the recently-published fourteenth-century rolls where trading offences were more prominent. There is rather more routine about these Elizabethan rolls than their predecessors, and less picturesque detail, but they are full of information about the ordinary people of an extensive area, and Dr. Weikel and the Court Rolls section are to be congratulated on such a useful edition. My one small reservation is that the index of persons and places does not list domiciles separately for persons named in the rolls, so that although 'outsiders from York, Lincoln and London did hold land' (p. xiii), none of these three cities appears in the index.

University of Birmingham

D. M. PALLISER

DONALD WOODWARD, *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642*. Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, VIII, London, Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1984. pp. lxxvii + 347; figs. £33.

Henry Best was Lord of the Manor of Elmswell from 1618-1645. The estate, about 2 miles to the west of Driffeld, covered nearly 1300 acres: it stretched nearly 2½ miles from north to south and over a mile from east to west. At its southern boundary, around the site of the hamlet of Elmswell itself, the land is less than 100 ft. above sea level. It rises towards the Wolds, and although none of it was higher than 300 ft. the soil changes from a clay loam in the south, mostly under pasture, to typical wold land in the north. The demesne covered probably more than half the acreage of the estate, and Best often farmed part of the rest of it himself, too: in 1641 he harvested more than 400 acres of corn. He also had the right to graze 360 sheep on the Cottam sheep walk, to the north of his own land. The remainder of the estate was let to tenants.

Originally the manor belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, York, but in 1590 it was sold by the Crown to a private buyer from whom an uncle of Henry bought it in 1597. Ultimately the estate was purchased by Henry himself for £2,200. Henry Best noted in his Farming and Memorandum Books the experiences he gained during the 27 years he farmed at Elmswell and managed the estate. The books were edited by Charles Best Robinson and were published in book form by the Surtees Society in 1857. This publication was based on the original scripts which had probably been dictated by Henry Best to his son, John, in order that the young man and others might learn more about farming and the Elmswell traditions, for the Farming Book is no simple diary of events on the farm and estate: it also provides a repository for the detailed local knowledge absorbed by the owner which he used to establish or confirm general principles of agricultural practice.

The Memorandum Book is largely a note of Best's transactions with other farmers, tradesmen, and his own workers. It consists of a mere 48pp. compared with the Farming Book's 152pp. Yet it deals very thoroughly with those aspects with which it is concerned. Many readers may envy Best's facility for keeping such a complete record of his sales and purchases, and of the cash and materials that he lent to others from time to time. Indeed, in the 1857 edition the Memorandum Book is referred to as 'the Account Book' although it would not cover the purposes to which farmers' accounts are often put today. And, as has been written elsewhere, 'an account book is a tantalizing source of information: it hints at so much but explains so little.'

The present book is a much enlarged version of Robinson's and includes an Introduction by the editor which provides information about the Best family—whence they originated, a simplified family tree, and the evidence that its members were well educated people (even though one of them escaped death by hanging only

by a hair's breadth). More than a page is devoted to Charles Best Robinson, as is befitting for the man who was the editor of the original printed version of the Farming Book. He was a direct descendant, through his mother, of Henry Best, and a graduate of Durham University. He was a 'a man of very high literary attainments' except, apparently, in his knowledge of the East Riding dialect, reference to which leads to another facet of the present publication, for although the main part of it is devoted to reproducing and explaining the literary work of Henry Best and his descendants, space has been found for a Glossary and Linguistic Commentary. These have been contributed by Peter McLure of Hull University. The result is a new and much enlarged version of Robinson's Glossary which now covers 1100 words (compared with 400 in the original), with notes on Best's grammar. McLure generously admits the advantages he possessed over Robinson, and although he draws attention to some of the defects of the original Glossary he pays tribute to its value, (and, by implication, to the merits of the expanded version).

Robinson commended the study of his book specifically to only three classes of readers, viz. agriculturists, country gentlemen, and antiquaries. In this he was too modest: the new edition certainly deserves a wider readership than this, even if its appeal to members of the Y.A.S. only is considered in this connexion. Thus the Medieval Section will note how little farming had changed since the Middle Ages, and it will welcome the inclusion of the wills and inventories which appear in Appendix II.

The text is full of items of interest to students of Local History, and the Family History and Population Section will appreciate the amounts of detail in the Biographies of the Elmswell inhabitants. They may also marvel at the fecundity of the Best family: 'in just over a century four generations of Bests sired 43 children'. What family has done better? Only the Industrial History and the Georgian Sections may feel neglected. But when Best wrote industrialisation had not begun to replace manual labour by the products of the factory, and the photographs of today's uninhabited manor house and unattended garden of Elmswell do nothing to satisfy the Georgian Section's predilection for Stately Homes.

Leeds

HARWOOD LONG.

Also received

C. CROSS, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers: Religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War*, Borthwick Papers No. 67, York 1985; pp. 30. £1.80 + 20p p. & p.

N. LUND (ed.), CHRISTINE E. FELL (trans.), *Two Voyagers at the Court of King Alfred. The Ventures of Othere and Wulfstan together with the Description of Northern Europe from the Old English Orosius*, William Sessions Ltd., York 1984; pp. 72, ill. 23. £5.50.

P. R. NEWMAN, *Atlas of the English Civil War*, Croom Helm Ltd., Beckenham, Kent 1985; pp. 126, maps 56. £12.95.

Philip Rahtz, *Invitation to Archaeology*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1958; pp. 184, figs. 8. £4.95 (paperback), £14.50 (hardback).

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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